1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

measure by the size of the group, a large area naturally having more names than a small one.

Table 10 translates into percentages the number of peculiar and shared names in each group. The variation in the percentage of peculiar names and the complementary variation in the percentage of shared names may in some measure be correlated with the political importance of the several groups. The Tongatabu group, with its relatively large land mass, has always been, so far as known, the political center of gravity of the kingdom, a condition which might well be instrumental in developing a wealth of peculiar personal names. The contrasting figures for Tongatabu and Vavau may well reflect the political supremacy of Tongatabu and the provincial dependence of Vavau. During the last two centuries Vavau has been the goal of at least two conquering expeditions from Tongatabu, that of Vuna, the fifth Tui Kanokupolu, and of Ulukalala, Mariner's patron. Perhaps the influx of people from Tongatabu resulted in a lowering of Vavau's percentage of peculiar personal names.

TABLE 10. PERCENTAGE OF PECULIAR AND SHARED NAMES IN EACH GROUP

	TOTAL	PECULIAR		SHARED	
		NUMBER	PER CENT	NUMBER	PER CENT
Tongatabu	1359	865	64	494	36
Haapai	997	566	57	431	43
Vavau	746	366	49	380	51
Niuafoou	227	117	52	110	48
Niuatoputapu	143	64	45	79	55

Table 11 shows the number of names in common for each two groups. The striking feature is the fact that adjacent Vavau and Haapai have fewer names in common than widely separated Vavau and Tongatabu, thus evidencing a closer connection between Vavau and Tongatabu. This situation is reflected also in Table 12 and Table 13, in which Vavau has a higher percentage of names in common with remote Tongatabu than with adjacent Haapai. The disparity, however, is not so great as in place names (25, pp. 20, 21) though it seems real enough.

TABLE 11. NUMBER OF NAMES IN COMMON BETWEEN EACH TWO GROUPS

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU
Haapai	349	----	---	---
Vavau	299	248	---	---
Niuafoou	76	76	66	---
Niuatoputapu	41	47	47	23

Table 12 shows the number of names in common between each two groups, expressed in percentages of the number of shared names in each of the groups. This table should be read downward, the name at the head of each column being that of the group under consideration. Thus, Vavau

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

has 79 per cent of its shared names in common with Tongatabu, but Tongatabu has only 61 per cent of its shared names in common with Vavau.

TABLE 12. PERCENTAGE OF SHARED NAMES SHARED BY EACH TWO GROUPS

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU	NIUATOPUTAPU
Tongatabu	....	81	79	69	52
Haapai	71	....	65	69	59
Vavau	61	58	....	60	59
Niuafoou	15	18	17	....	29
Niuatoputapu	8	11	12	21	....

Table 13 is based on the same principle as Table 12, but the total of names in each group is taken as the basis instead of shared names, and like Table 12 should be read downward, the name at the head of each column being that of the group under consideration. Thus, Vavau has 40 per cent of all its names in common with Tongatabu, but Tongatabu has only 22 per cent of all its names in common with Vavau.

TABLE 13. PERCENTAGE OF NAMES COMMON TO EACH TWO GROUPS ON BASIS OF TOTAL NAMES OF EACH GROUP

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU	NIUATOPUTAPU
Tongatabu	....	35	40	33	29
Haapai	26	....	33	33	33
Vavau	22	25	....	29	33
Niuafoou	6	8	9	....	16
Niuatoputapu	3	6	6	10	....

Table 14 presents the average percentage indexes of the interrelations of the island groups. The upper diagonal half of the table employs the percentages presented in Table 12, based on shared names only. The lower diagonal half of the table employs the percentages presented in Table 13, based on all names in each group. The so-called average percentage index is the average of the two percentages of relationship for each two groups. Thus, in Table 12, Tongatabu has 71 per cent of its shared names in common with Haapai; Haapai has 81 per cent of its shared names in common with Tongatabu; the average percentage index for the two groups, based on shared names, is therefore 71 plus 81, divided by 2, or 76, which is the figure entered in the upper diagonal half of Table 14. The figures in the lower diagonal half are similarly derived from Table 13.

TABLE 14. AVERAGE PERCENTAGE—INDEXES OF INTERRELATIONS OF ISLAND GROUPS

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU	NIUATOPUTAPU
Tongatabu	100	76	70	42	30
Haapai	30.5	100	61.5	43.5	35
Vavau	31	29	100	38.5	35.5
Niuafoou	19.5	20.5	19	100	25
Niuatoputapu	16	19	19.5	13	100

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

Whether the indexes of group interrelations are based upon the percentage of shared names or upon the percentage of all names, certain significant breaks in the series of figures appear. Vavau is more closely tied to distant Tongatabu than to neighboring Haapai, which permits only of the interpretation that Vavau's intercourse has been greater with distant Tongatabu than with nearby Haapai. This is borne out by the absolute figures as well as by the percentages. Thus, the names exclusively shared by Tongatabu and Vavau are 98, by Haapai and Vavau but 51. The names exclusively shared by the three groups are 134. As suggested (25, p. 22), the explanation probably lies in the political supremacy of Tongatabu, from which the emissaries of the Tui Tonga were continually going forth to the other groups to collect tribute and to carry out many other missions. Both Niuafoou and Niuatoputapu seem more closely connected with Tongatabu, Haapai, and Vavau, than with each other; the figures for personal names correspond in this regard with those for place names.

These tabulations for personal names manifest the same interrelations as having subsisted between different parts of the kingdom as do the tabulations for place names given in "Tongan place names". The general conclusions reached (25, pp. 22, 23) are strengthened by the findings in regard to personal names, and a diagram showing influence radiating directly from Tongatabu to the other four groups would likewise be justified.

LIST OF NAMES

The list of Tongan personal names here presented has been largely derived from the list of tenants in the Tongan land office and most of them are names of adult males. The distribution in the five parts of the kingdom is indicated by T for Tongatabu group, H for Haapai, V for Vavau group, NT for Niuatoputapu group, and NF for Niuafoou. Many native tree names, such as *fa* (hala, *Pandanus*), toa (*Casuarina*), and *fau* (hau, *Hibiscus*), are used alone and in combination as personal names. Tonganized English and Biblical names are included in the list. Translations are by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

Afa, a hurricane; a wonder maker. T, NT
Afaki, to have ready by the time of waking.
Afakitau, sleep so as to be ready to fight. V
Afe, a thousand; to turn aside. NT
Afeafe, turn about often. H, NF
Afeaki, keep turning aside. T, H
Afei, to wrap round the body. V
Afeitaulalo, for a chief to go and visit a commoner. T, H
Afemui, to turn last, to turn aside last. T, H, V
Afi, fire. H, V, NF
Afitu, to scatter fire. H
Afoa, a small rope or string for tying the fence. T
Afu, red hot; oven cooked. T, H, V
Afuhaamango, dry without moisture. V
Afuhaapai, Afu from Haapai.
Afuhaalaufuli, Afu from Haalaufuli.
Afukaipouli, Afu do not eat until night.
Afusipa, to sleep while fishing; to only wake to pull up the hook. V
Afuvale, paper mulberry tree with too many shoots.
Ahau, the inclosure of the ruling chief; name of a place at Tongatabu. T
Ahauano, many people. H

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Ata Island]

wished that some one would take her daughter away on a voyage as the daughter was the recipient of unwelcome attention from Teukava, one of the sons of the great chief Ata. Teukava had ordered the girl brought to an entertainment (*katoanga sike*), at which he forced the girls to appear naked so that he might review them and decide which he desired. Latuhehea, at her mother's wish, was taken away by the people of the island of Atata. They took her to Ata. The Atata people also settled on Ata, presumably to avoid Teukava's vengeance. The Houma people, themselves, could not take Latuhehea away from Tongatabu because being inland people they knew neither how to navigate nor to paddle and had no vessels of their own. Whether or not Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were already dead when Latuhehea and the Atata people came is not clear. West (62) assigns the flight of the Atata people to Ata to desire to escape the raids of a cannibal who dwelt on Nomuka Island, Haapai.

From Motuapuaka and Tapuosi to the informant James Tupouata (a man of seventy years of age in 1920) was five generations. Table 15 (in pocket) shows seven generations of people who resided on or were born in Ata. One hundred and fifty-one of the 163 people listed by me in a census of Ata inhabitants are included in this genealogy. The genealogical evidence seems to point to the middle of the eighteenth century as the probable time of arrival of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi. The earlier growth of the population was largely through cross-cousin marriages, as there were but few accretions to the population from without. No doubt cross-cousin marriage was practiced to a far greater extent than in the general rank and file of the Tongan population, among whom such marriages were regarded as a chiefly prerogative, not to be exercised by commoners. Marriages to relatives as shown by the Ata genealogy (Table 15) were as follows:

10-11: Man to mother's father's sister.
14-15: Man to father's sister's daughter.
19-20: Man to father's sister's daughter.
21-22: Man to father's sister's daughter.
21-24: Man to father's sister's daughter.
25-26: Man to father's sister's daughter.
27-28: Man to father's sister's daughter.
29-30: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
34-35: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
39-40: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
41-42: Man to mother's brother's son's daughter.
43-44: Man to mother's father's sister's son's daughter.
48-49: Man to mother's father's son's daughter.
36-38: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
57-58: Man to mother's sister's daughter's daughter.
70-71: Man to mother's sister's daughter.
73-74: Man to mother's paternal half sister's daughter.
92-93: Man to father's father's daughter's daughter's daughter.
94-95: Man to father's paternal half sister's son's daughter.

A /See Category 173, End Table A-C --Analyst/

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Ata Island]

582

98-99: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
102-103: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
104-105: Man to mother's father's paternal half brother's daughter.
109-110: Man to mother's paternal half sister's son's daughter's daughter.
125-127: Man to father's sister's daughter.
134-135: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
165-166: Man to father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In addition to the following marriages of blood relatives which the genealogy shows, there is one case of a man (14) marrying his stepmother (7) and one case of a man (13) marrying two sisters (12 and 16). Of the twenty-six marriages of relatives nine are of cross-cousins. Seven of the cross-cousin marriages are of a man to his father's sister's daughter, two to his mother's brother's daughter. There is one example of parallel cousin marriage (70-71).

The institution of the *vasu* evidently held with as much force in Ata as in Tonga proper, for informants said that of the two persons, Laufilitonga (mentioned above) and his sister Takumua, that Takumua was superior in rank and that her children were superior to those of her brother Laufilitonga. In fact, Laufilitonga's children had continually to go into the bush and secure food for the children of Takumua. Even to-day the descendants of Takumua rank higher than the descendants of Laufilitonga.

604 593 605 [184]

There were three gods recognized on Ata, two of them apparently from early times, one of them from about the middle of the nineteenth century. Faikavakisia, a male deity, had a sanctuary in the eastern part of the village of Kolomaile. The priest of the god is said to have borne the same name. Tui Tofua, presumably the well known Haapai god, had a sanctuary in the southern part of the town of Kolomaile. His priest was also known by the name of Tui Tofua. It seems likely that the introduction of the worship of this god may be attributed to Tameifuna, the Haapai colonist. From the present holder of the title of Leha, carpenter to the Tui Tonga, I obtained the following account of the arrival of the third god, Moalaleki, in Ata.

184 776 [778] [793] [778] [793]

Moalaleki was the god of the village and fortress of Pea, Tongatabu. In the year 1852 the god became angry because the cup of kava of a warrior named Sialevailea was given to another warrior. Thereupon, the god deserted Pea and went at once to Ata, taking with him a root (*ulo*) of kava. With the departure of the god from Pea, misfortune fell upon the town, for that very day the Tui Kanokupolu George I laid siege to it with his Methodist army.

[276] [669] [798]

When the god arrived in Ata he found the chiefs assembled inside a house wishing that they had kava to drink (kava was already grown in the island). Suddenly the god dropped the kava root from the roof of the house to the floor. Thereupon the chiefs said to one another, "We wish we had more kava. This is only a small quantity; too small to make a drink for us all." Then the god said from above, "It is small, but it is strong (*latea*)," expressing the idea in poetry as follows:

[539]

Oku sii pe ka oe latea	It is small but it is strong
Koe kava na'e o Pea	The kava was formerly of Pea
Koe ha'u mei pe kolo tautea	It has come from the punished town.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Ata and Niuatoputapu Islands]

So the kava root was chewed and squeezed and eaten, and the people drank it, then all lay down drunk. After the first infusion of the kava the strainings were divided and each house was given a share so that each house had a drink. On this occasion it was Mu'a, the mother of Julia Ukulolo, who did the chewing and who after the bowl was brought squeezed and strained the kava. Julia Ukulolo was an informant interviewed in 1921.

The population of Ata had its maximum with about two hundred individuals, one hundred of which were children according to modern informants. In fact at the time of removal to Eua it was said that there were one hundred school children.

About 1860 a serious disaster overtook the islanders. The following account of what happened was obtained from Tupouata who was at the time twelve or thirteen years old. Another informant, Julia Ukulolo, was eight or nine years old and was in school at the time that the disaster befell. The disaster was in the form of kidnapping by a Peruvian ship. Julia's older brother was taken away by this raider. Tupouata also laid the trouble to the treachery of a Tongan named Paul Vehi, who had been educated in Sydney during a sojourn of two years and who claimed to have been appointed mayor of Ata by King George I. The Ata people were already Christians when the raid occurred.

When the Peruvian raider appeared she was black with white doors painted upon her sides to make her look like a man-of-war. Vehi went aboard and presumably arranged the kidnapping. When he returned ashore, he made a proclamation that each family was to send a good-looking man aboard with provisions to sell. There was to be no selling on shore, and furthermore the selling on the ships was to take place below decks. Once the Ata people were aboard they were sent to various rooms to select the goods they wanted in exchange. After entering the rooms the doors were locked. Just how many were kidnapped I could not learn. Eight men who were waiting in boats beside the ship escaped, for one of them perceived what had happened. They were however pursued by the ship's boat.

When King George I heard about the raid he sent the three schooners Sialeataongo, Elenoa, and Tupou to bring the people away from Ata, lest more of them be kidnapped. The schooners sailed to Eua, but were unable to land the people on account of the heavy sea. They were therefore taken to Nukualofa and lodged temporarily at Pangai, the site of the present wireless station. Large quantities of food were furnished the refugees by the king. Later they were transported to Eua where they and their descendants now live.

NIUATOPUTAPU ISLAND

Niuatoputapu (Niua Doubly Prohibited) is one of the two northern outlying groups of the modern Tongan kingdom, the other being Niuafoou or New Niua. Niuatoputapu perhaps derives its name from the privilege

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

(Calla Filatonga) and the god Fatafehi (66, pp. 276, 277; 19, vol. 1, p. 403), whom I could not identify. All informants interviewed denied the existence of any deity with the name Fatafehi.

Tangaloa

Tangaloa, the sky god, is regarded in Vavau as being the deity who hauled up the Vavau group, his fish hook catching in what is now the island of Hunga (41, vol. 1, p. 271). The attribution by the Vavau people of this great act to Tangaloa instead of Maui is perhaps due to some special development of Tangaloa worship in Vavau. Tangaloa Tufunga, though said not to be a god of Niuatoputapu, is the patron of carpenters elsewhere in Tonga.

Maui

The Maui were characterized by one informant not as gods but as men, and they are believed to appear sometimes as men. In other words, they are really culture heroes who correspond better to the designation of demigod than of god. According to Maatu of Niuatoputapu, Maui is not credited with having benefited that island. He is, however, reputed to have drawn up successively the islands of Ata, north of Tongatabu, and Tongatabu with all of its associated islands, then Lofanga and the other Haapai islands, and lastly the Vavau group (38, p. 113). There are several places in the Tongatabu and Vavau groups which have tales connecting them with the exploits of the Maui. At Toloa, Tongatabu, certain breakers are said to represent the great fowl (*moa*) wounded by Maui, who hurled stones at it, as it flew from Eua. Thus, when a wave approaches the shore and breaks only in part it is said to be the fowl approaching. The part of the wave which is breaking is called the good wing of the bird. The part which does not break is said to be the broken wing of the bird, which has been struck by Maui's missile.

There is a definite localization of tales about Maui in Eua Island and in the Vavau group, seemingly drawing upon two separate sets of tales, which in modern times have been more or less amalgamated. In Eua, Maui Kisikisi and his father and mother are said to have lived at Haatua. At that place there is a large stretch of ground with a deep depression which is called the Matalanga-a-Maui. The tale recounts that the father chided Kisikisi for not working, whereupon the boy in anger seized his great digging stick, plunged it into the ground and worked it back and forth, shaking Eua terribly. His father ordered him to desist lest he upset the island, and Kisikisi expostulated at the unequal treatment he received, one time hearing complaint because he did no work, and then hearing further complaint as soon as he started to make a garden. In exasperation he cast his digging stick over the cliff Le-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

Mr. Mariner took particular pains to make enquiries respecting the above extraordinary story, with a view to discover whether it was only a corrupted relation of the Mosaic account; and he found that it was not universally known to the Tonga people. Most of the chiefs and matabooles were acquainted with it, but the bulk of the people seemed totally ignorant of it. This led him at first to suspect that the chiefs had obtained the leading facts from some of our modern missionaries, and had interwoven it with their own notions; but the oldest men affirmed their positive belief that it was an ancient traditionary record, and that it was founded in truth. It seems strange that they should believe an account which serves so much to degrade them, and makes even their very chiefs to be descendants of bad men, cursed by their father with the evils of poverty and ignorance. Nevertheless, they readily own the superiority of the Papalangies, not only in knowledge, but disposition to do good; but, on the other hand, they do not as readily confess themselves to lie under a malediction: on the contrary, they maintain that they are far superior to us in personal beauty, and though we have more instruments and riches, they think that they could make a better use of them if they only had them in their possession. Of the chiefs

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

133 valed by considerable stretches of water. These groups, from north to south, are Vavau, Haapai, and Tongatabu. Of the three, Tongatabu has the largest land unit in an island which lends its name to the entire group. This island was, culturally and politically, the center of Tongan life.

121 Archaeological investigation, extended to cover as much of each of the
172 three geographical divisions of the Tongan archipelago as available time and
184 the distribution of favorable sites warranted, failed to discover any important
128 differences between the archaic remains found in different islands. This cultural uniformity renders it desirable to treat the whole of Tonga as a unit in the present report, rather than to give separate archaeological surveys of any sort of geographic subdivisions.

144 The inhabitants of Tonga are, predominantly, full-blooded Polynesians.
161 Probably never much exceeding twenty-five thousand in number, the Tongans have approximately that population today.

128 An apology is perhaps due for presenting my subject in a form which requires the reader to peruse the entire detailed outlay of evidence in order to obtain a gist of the pertinent facts and the related conclusions. It seems to me that most of the detail is essential to a general understanding of involved problems, and that conclusions, even general remarks, are devoid of meaning when separated from the detail of listed phenomena. I have, therefore, included all the involved data in the running discussion, in order to give the specifically interested student an intelligent, unabridged representation of the field.

172 On first consideration, the archaeological outlook in Tonga is not promis-
114 ing. The student finds here a mottled field, poor in stratified deposits attributable to human sources, but rich in artificial monuments of earth and
114 stone. The greater part of these have not been carefully examined by preceding investigators. Such as have been found mentioned in published accounts have generally been treated as of unknown or doubtful origin.
173 Local mythology has taken full advantage of these wonders and has accounted for their presence in many fanciful ways. There is, however, a much more plausible group of traditions, practically free from dependence upon superhuman agencies, accounting for these structures in a not illogical manner.
173 These traditions, surprisingly consistent in their wide repetition and flatly
114 historical in style, have too frequently been overlooked altogether or purposely disregarded by investigators.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan pottery seems to resemble that of Fiji in many essential traits, as is to be expected, but to differ somewhat from it in many details. The similarity between the cooking wares is much more pronounced than that between the finer, decorated ware.

Good sources of clay in Tonga were not observed, but there were volcanic as well as coral islands in the group to serve as possible sources, and clay is probably not uncommon. There certainly is no lack of stubborn, sticky mud, as the roads will testify.

CONCLUSION

The culture traits and products disclosed by archaeological investigations in Tonga are representative of the entire group rather than of peculiarly different districts; a single culture was disclosed. Certain rare, unique features may have been either local peculiarities within the culture, isolated innovations resulting from foreign diffusion, or monuments of an intruding culture. Their rare occurrence renders them generally unimportant. A list of these unique features might include the Fijian type of house platform observed on the island of Mango, the square house platform on the island of Utungaki, the stone fortification on the island of Late, the petroglyphs on the islands of Telekivavau and Tonumea, and even the great trilithon on Tongatabu.

On the other hand, the Tongan tendency towards the quick adoption of new ideas, whether of local or foreign conception, a characteristic very apparent in the historic Tongan, could only have resulted in a mottled culture with many peculiar expressions, which might have included any or all such highly individualistic features.

Not only are sub-divisions of negligible importance in this province, but no reasonable indication of a human culture or foreign race of people preceding the culture and race of its historic occupation was encountered. This statement is made with a full realization of the paucity of known data reflecting any great antiquity, but with the feeling that this paucity is principally due to the non-existence of such data.

A great part of the investigation was limited to the Tongatabu group of islands. This was not due to any arbitrary selection on my part, but rather to the illuminating fact that sites apparently worthy of investigation, considering the limited time available for work, are relatively rare elsewhere. This is true of structures of stone and earth, accumulations of kitchen refuse, and all other interesting features, definitely indicating a much more intesively inhabited state in the south of the archipelago than in the north. Native traditions to the effect that Tongatabu was settled before Haapai and Vavau, and that these groups remained but sparsely settled until com-

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 245 412 829 therefore, indicates the coconut living with that which destroys it. Used of one who is in close contact with that which is his undoing. (Compare No. 243.)

539 245 858 **48. Potopoto a niu mui:** Wisdom of a young nut tree.

A young tree will sometimes bear a crop as though it were clever at that game, but will pass fruitless through another season. So children will at times behave with all the discretion of adults, but such conduct cannot be expected to be the permanent characteristic of the young.

539 245 **49. Tautefua a niu motuu:** A ripe nut hanging by itself.

There is only one nut on the stalk, but that one is perfect and ripe. A thing of which there are very few, and those few are of fine quality. A man who stands alone, but who is exceedingly capable.

539 184 **50. To lou oji:** Leaf fallen finished, that is, all the leaves fallen.

This is not a familiar form of expression in most parts of the Tongan group, in fact it is ungrammatical; it may have originated in Niua Foou where it seems that such a form is permissible. The phrase is not known, or at least not generally known in Tongatabu. Baker gives, "destitute"; poverty, or rather the poor, being represented as a tree denuded of leaves.

539 824 **51. Tupu lautolo:** Growing (like) *lautolo*.

The *lautolo* is a fast-growing, strong-creeping plant. To grow like this plant is to grow quickly and strongly.

539 244 578 **52. Tuutuu kau tala:** Stand about I'll tell.

Used for one who makes slighting or offensive remarks about another who, unknown to the speaker, is near by and listening. There is a plantain called the *tuutuu-kau-tala*. Both the name of the plant and the meaning of the expression are connected with the legendary hero Muni, who was cast away at sea at, or before, birth and washed ashore on the island of Lofanga in Haapai. He was found and adopted by a childless couple of Lofanga, but as he grew to manhood his adoptive parents became anxious to get rid of him. Returning home one evening Muni overheard from just outside the house his supposed parents talking about him inside the house. He leaned against a plantain, of the sort now called *tuutuu-kau-tala*, and heard what they had to say. There is a couplet referring to this incident:

Hau ai o tuu kau talai	Come and stand while I abuse
Aeni ne ui ai he hopa ni.	You after whom was named this plantain.

539 824 571 **53. Ulu akaua:** Overshadowed with trees.

A tree that is dwarfed, unable to reach its full stature and vigor, by reason of a crowd of other trees standing close about it. Used of a warrior who is overcome by the number of foes that press together upon him. Generally of one who, no matter how great his spirit and skill, is overwhelmed by the multitude of difficulties that confront him.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 571 183 is that anyone who wishes to do kind acts had better choose a time when they will be really useful.

539 821 534 412 287 **308. Ngingi uha:** Sounding (of) rain.

This indicates the sound of the mallets used for beating out the native cloth, or the sound of the native drum (*lali*) when there is rain about. The note of the drum or *tapa* mallets is then a sign of rain. Proverbially applied to the signs that something is about to happen. (See No. 564.)

539 821 [183] **309. Uha kei lelei:** Rain still good.

Rain falling at a suitable interval after the last previous downfall, as distinguished especially from rain which falls after so long a period of dry weather that many plants have died and are unable to profit by the downpour when it does come. Generally of actions and circumstances of all sorts that occur at appropriate times and are therefore able to achieve the maximum of good.

SEA AND COAST

539 481 829 **310. Anu tahi:** Swimming (floating, wading) in the sea.

Used of one in difficulties, exactly as we say, "one has got into deep water."

539 481 183 **311. Auhia kae kisu atu pe:** Obstructed by the current but spitting on.

The picture is that of a swimmer striving against the current with the water breaking in his face and getting in his mouth; but who keeps squirting or spitting the water from his mouth and battles bravely on. Applied to one who goes indomitably on his way in spite of the difficulties which beset him.

539 829 184 **312. Fai tahi:** Sea doings, that is, unusual behavior, sometimes deceitful conduct.

The gods of the sea had characteristics different from those of the land; the conduct of people at sea is not the same as their behavior ashore. It is hard to say what special differences, if any, exist between longshore and sea-going habits and particularly why the idea of craftiness should be associated with this expression. Broadly it appears to mean things that are not done ashore.

539 571 825 **313. Fakaita fai ki tahi:** Anger bestowed on sea; "to be revenged on another by punishing oneself." (Baker.)

The story is that a party of brothers prepared food, yam with rats. When the food was divided one of the brothers, apparently the youngest, was dissatisfied with his share and in his chagrin jumped over a cliff into the

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 103 **334. Nukualofa fakahekeheke:** Flattering Nukualofa.

The name Nukualofa, applied today to the large village which is the capital of the modern Kingdom of Tonga, had formerly a much more restricted application. Speaking generally, however, it is said that this part has been called successively by the names Maufanga, Navua, Nukualefa, and Nukualofa. Of the last two, Nuku-alefa means Hungry-place, and Nuku-alofa, Kindly-place. Flattering Nukualofa is used derisively with the imputation that the expression of "Kindly-place" is mere flattery used to procure food for Hungry-place.

539 484 505 **335. Taka Tongatapu tae i Eua:** Going about in Tongatabu without being in Eua.

The island of Eua although close to Tongatabu is inconveniently situated for coming and going with the prevailing winds; the trip one way is frequently easy but sometimes several days elapse before a sailing boat can make the return passage. Consequently comparatively few people visit Eua. One may live for years in Tongatabu or a stranger may go through Tongatabu from end to end and yet not include Eua in his itinerary. (See Nos. 350 and 352.)

539 787 **336. Toka i Maananga:** Lying (beforehand) in Maananga.

Maananga is the name of the home of the chief Loau who plays so great a part in Tongan legend. He was a seer who resting quietly at home was able to see all that was going on elsewhere, or at least a great deal of it. People might purpose to carry out a project and set to work on it, but it was all known to the chief in Maananga, the whole thing lay exposed [779] to view in Maananga. This expression, written as one word, is commonly used of omniscience in Christian worship.

539 823 **337. Tonga mounga ki he loto:** Tonga's mountain is in its heart.

This is said to be the reply of the Tongatabu people to the people of Haapai and Vavau, when taunted with having no mountain in their island. [873] The phrase has been very happily adopted by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton as the motto of the Tubou College, of which he was the founder. Dr. Moulton has of course applied its brave language to the whole of the Tongan group, inclusive of Haapai and Vavau. If this account of the origin of the 539 133 expression be correct it bears interesting testimony to the isolation of Eua 823 from Tongatabu. Eua is not as high as Tofua or Kao, the two mountain- 186 ous islands of Haapai, but it is certainly very high land in Tonga and is much closer to Tongatabu than Tofua and Kao are to the main part of the 184 Haapai group, which is in general very low. Moreover, the population of Eua has probably always been greater than that of Tofua and Kao. The people of Eua, although only a few hours' sail under favorable conditions from Tongatabu seem in general to have lived a life of their own, though by no means one always of peaceful monotony.

539 484 829 261 **338. Uakai pea alu ki Fuaamotu:** Hungry, then go to Fuaamotu.

Fuaamotu is a village in the eastern part of Tongatabu, a place that to a great number of the inhabitants of Tongatabu seems and actually is

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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at a considerable distance from their own homes. It is moreover a high chiefly village; and therefore a likely place to obtain food. There is a double reference in this phrase; first, that one is so hungry that he is willing to go a long way to obtain food; second, that in going to Fuaamotu he is going to a good place to get it.

539 484 829 261

HAAPAI

[Haapai is the central portion of the Tongan group, lying almost midway between Tongatabu to the south and Vavau to the north. It is a widely scattered archipelago, consisting almost entirely of low coral islands.]

131 133

339. Afa kai fai ki Haa-Ngana: A great talk about food after the Haa-Ngana way.

539 829 184

Haa-Ngana, the tribe of Ngana, is found in three small islands in the Haapai group. What might be reckoned a great thing in these small islands is not necessarily of such dimensions as to appear worthy of special comment to the inhabitant of a larger place. Much ado about nothing.

340. E seea ae namu Nomuka: Nomuka mosquitoes will be driven away.

539 825

The island of Nomuka, one of the southernmost of the Haapai group, is deservedly famous for its mosquitoes. The expression is used for that which is very difficult. It is easier to keep the mosquitoes off oneself in Nomuka than to do so-and-so. (Compare Nos. 370, 358 and 133.)

341. Foa ulu efu: Foa dusty head.

539 578 184

This is an abusive epithet applied to the people of Foa in Haapai. It makes a Foa man angry and does not seem applicable to any peculiarity discoverable today in the people or their island, which is large and very fertile. A story is told which refers the origin of the expression to a combat between two chiefs of Foa. One hit the other on the head with his club and made a cloud of dust fly out. It is also said the yams in Foa have large heads with plenty of room for the dirt to lodge when they are dug up; but this strikes one as being rather the finding of fresh cases to which to apply the abuse than the explanation of its origin.

342. Hange ko Fakatoutoa: Like Fakatoutoa.

539 823

Fakatoutoa is a place in the sea near Nomuka, in the Haapai Group, where rough water is frequently encountered. Used proverbially of rough seas. (See No. 332.)

343. Hilinga mo Tolu koe motu tokanoa: It becomes Tolu, an island that lies right out of the way.

Tolu is a small group of islets lying at a considerable distance from any other portion of the Tonga Islands and is, moreover, rather inaccessible and out of the usual track of boats. The expression as it stands, is ellip- (183)

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 823 183 tical, but would be readily intelligible in a context. It means that a backwoods, out of the way place like Tolu had better not interfere with the affairs of other places. It is a way of telling anyone to mind his own business.

539 829 554 **344. Nae tai ae vaka Mounga-one koe ikai hano eiki:** The Mounga-one boat was smitten because it had no chief.

The story is that a party of men sailed from Mounga-one in Haapai to some part of Fiji. On landing they cooked themselves some chestnuts (*Inocarpis edulis*), which were passed around and eaten in a most informal manner. While this was going forward a party of Fijians appeared, and feeling sure from the haphazard, go-as-you-please way in which the Tongans were taking their food that no chief was present they fell on them and slew them. This incident is jocularly referred to by one of a working party who is lazy, or who perhaps really deserves a rest, and wants to sit down. He sits down with the remark that the Mounga-one boat was cut out because there was no chief there, his meaning being that he will sit down and play the chief for the party he is with.

539 184 **345. Oku ikai ha vaka e mate i tahi ka e mole ai a Haano:** There is not a boat lost at sea but a Haano man perishes there.

The people of the island of Haano in Haapai have the reputation of being such incorrigible wanderers that a boat cannot be wrecked without there being someone from this island among the drowned. Wherever you find a boat you are sure to find at least one Haano man on board.

539 776 183 **346. Kama e tevolo i Kao, Kae tuku e tevolo aau:** Reaching out to, attending to, the devil in Kao, but not noticing your own devil.

In its present form this appears to be modern, and it is impossible to say whether there was an older form in which the word *tevolo* is replaced by something more certainly ancient and genuinely Tongan. The second line is sometimes rendered, *Kae tuku ae tevolo ho ao*, But not noticing the devil in your presence. The expression apparently originated in Haapai, where the island peak of Kao is situated. It is used here as the type of that which is distant: concerned over evils at a distance but regardless of the evils which are close at hand. (Compare Nos. 422 and 423.)

539 823 **347. Tekefili hange ko Kao:** Lying manifest like Kao.

The high conical island of Kao in Haapai is the most striking feature in the seascape for very many miles around. "As plain as Kao" means much the same as "As plain as a pike-staff," but is a much more striking and forcible expression.

348. Koe mamao he ko Aka: Distant, for 'tis Aka.

Aka is the name of a reef near the islands of Tofua and Kao, the two volcanic mountains of the Haapai group. To reach this reef involved a long sail from the islands that were the main centers of population, but

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 184 576 574 276 **354. Faka-Niuniua-foou:** Niua Foou fashion.

Tongans generally do not ask a stranger his name directly but ask a third person who knows him, whereas the people of Niua Foou make no scruple of a point blank inquiry. Hence to ask anybody his name directly is to act in the Niua Foou way. There is a special application to kava drinking. The *matabule* who is directing the brewing and distribution of the drink may not know the names of all present. A very common proceeding in such as case is to quietly inquire of one sitting near who so-and-so is; but he may say "We'll do Niua Foou way," and then without further invitation the strangers will each tell their names, or someone who knows them will name them out.

OTHER LOCALITIES

539 183 **355. Faji pe jila tuku ki Manono:** Boom broken—leave it to Manono, or boom broken, impute it to Manono.

Either of these expressions is a literal translation of the words. The origin of the phrase is obscure, but it is applied in two ways in accordance with the two translations given: 1. When a thing is broken, leave it to such a one, or to certain people who are skilled craftsmen and will mend it; 2. When a thing is broken, impute the blame for the mishap to so-and-so.

539 829 177 **356. Hange ha tama Polataane:** Like a British man.

This indicates one of martial aspect. Presumably the Tongans in the days of their first contact with European seamen grew accustomed to the sight of fully armed landing parties.

539 643 466 264 823 **357. Koe aho ni ape e tuku ki Uvea:** Today apparently is to be left to Uvea.

When the Tui Tonga had a big piece of work on hand, as for example building or repairing his boat, the *Akihenho*, the duty of feeding the carpenters was apportioned among the various districts in rotation, even as far as Uvea. The Uveans lived a long way off, and on their day the workmen frequently went hungry. So on any day when it was not clear whether any food would be forthcoming for them or not the carpenters were wont to say, "H'm, looks as though today were being left to Uvea." Used generally of uncertainty whether a desired event will happen or not.

539 823 [177] [609] **358. Ko Vaihi e:** That's Hawaii.

Indicates that which is far off and impossible. Much as English people speak of asking for the moon. "Did you get such a thing?" "That's Hawaii," that is, I have as much chance of getting that as I have of getting Hawaii. We are unable to say with certainty, but think it probable that this name Vaihi is no old recollection preserved in Tongan tradition, but a recent innovation since the visits of European vessels. A variation of this is *Ko Vaihi matuloulou*, that is, yellow-eyed, or yellow, Hawaii; but we do not know the reason of the epithet.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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399. Malimali loto: Smiling (in the) heart. 539 152 828

Satisfaction with what is one's own; self-satisfaction. The expression is said to have originated with the handsome man *(manaia)* Vainuku who lived in Eua where he had a little pool of water which he used as a mirror. When he saw the reflection of his handsome face the sight filled him with pleasure, made his heart smile. The pool itself was named *Malimali loto.*

400. Mata mea fooua: Seeing a new thing.

Indicative of the surprise and gratification experienced at beholding an unaccustomed sight. (See No. 267.)

401. Pauu afi mata: Mischievousness pulling down lower lid of the eye. 539 201 578 522

To pull down the lower lid of one's eye at a person is an insulting gesture; but this phrase refers apparently to one who should be so impudent as to do it to the eye of another, as for example a pert child treating thus his mother's eye. The expression means excessively impudent or mischievous.

402. Tuai e kemo: The wink (is) slow. 539 805

Instantaneous, very quick, literally much quicker than a wink of the eyes.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE

403. Finemotua fie finemui: Old woman wanting to be young woman. 539 561 888

A rebuke to the lady who refuses to grow old gracefully; but strives to cheat the advancing years with the adornments and manners that befit the young and fair.

404. Mata kovi ka nae fili ekita: Ugly but I chose myself. 539

The most direct application of this is to a man who has taken to wife a lady not specially dowered with beauty. She is not handsome, but she is the choice of her husband. 832 581

405. Uliuli a fine Eua: The dark complexion of a Eua woman. 539

The women of Eua were not reckoned beauties, but were well looked after and hard to come at. If a boat called at Eua the women would freely move about and perform the tasks incidental to the entertainment of the visitors, but at night were shut up and carefully guarded. The expression refers slightingly to these ladies, who, in spite of their lack of charm, were jealously watched. 832 562 184

406. Jiiji a pakiji: The wiry man is lean. 539

The word *pakiji* means lean but strong. There is a certain redundancy in saying that such a strong wiry man is thin. 826

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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undemocratic understanding that however brave he may show himself he is nevertheless but a commoner. There is a couplet which runs as follows:

Tangi a tua ke tau ke toa,
Kae toatoa toe tua pe.

Which, somewhat freely translated runs:

A commoner wanting to be a great warrior,
But with all his courage remaining but a commoner.

520. Lolinga a motu: Habit of islet.

The word *motu*, translated islet, refers to the smaller islands scattered about the Tongan group. Although the largest island is only about twenty-five miles long the word *motu* is not used of it nor in general of the other more important centers of population. Different sections of Tongan population do not show the variation in manner and outlook that separates extreme rusticity from extreme "towniness" in white men's countries, but the manner in which the out-of-the-way islander does things excites something of the same half-contemptuous tolerance in the man accustomed to places where the elite of Tongan society are centered, as the country man does in the city man. All such comparisons as these, however, are vastly in favor of the Tongan over the European. In all places courteous good-breeding is the rule, and the foreigner's ignorant blunders are passed over with bland indifference.

521. Ngu a tua: Muttering of commoner.

A commoner may be vexed at something and complain but his anger is little regarded because of his social inferiority and consequent powerlessness. Another possible rendering is, "power or might of a commoner," but the application would be much the same as above. (See No. 522.)

522. Ngungulu a feiumu: Grumbling of cook.

Very similar to No. 521. A no account man like a cook may do a lot of grumbling but all the same he has to do what he is told and get about his job whether he likes it or not.

523. Ngutu tamulea: Officious mouth.

Used of a commoner officiously expressing his opinion in the affairs of chiefs, or generally of one putting in his say where it is not wanted.

524. Tala be i tua mamao: Report far outside; that is, the reports and conjectures of those who are far from the center of things where only the truth is to be discovered.

The compounds of the chiefs were fenced and only the *matapules* and the chosen few could have access to the councils of the great lords, therefore the conjectures of the rank and file outside the fence were likely to be far from the truth. The word *tua*, translated above "outside" is also used of the common people and "*tua mamao*" may mean "common people far down the social scale" rather than "far outside." In either case the meaning is the same: the unreliable reports circulated in the conversation of those who have no means of knowing the truth.

10: Hornell E,N-4,5 (1925) 1936 OU9 Tonga OU9

501 177 opinion that this was actually the course of evolution. But this evolution took place in Fiji, and not in Tonga.

[181] It is unquestionable that the Fijians were notably the superiors of the Tongans and Samoans in the art of canoe designing, although the Tongans could claim the credit of being the more skilful carpenters and the more daring and experienced navigators.

U Attachment

[184] Of the three groups of islands in the Tongan Archipelago, in Vavao the U type prevails to the virtual exclusion of the stanchion type, probably because there are no longer any large canoes in use there; in Haapai, it is predominant, whereas in Tongatabu it is found only in the fishing villages on the south and east coasts; on the more populous north coast of Tongatabu the stanchion type alone is in use.

501 171 This distribution might lead to the inference that the U type is of older employment in these islands than the stanchion type. Against this conclusion have to be placed two facts. The first is that both in the canoe types surviving in Tonga and in those that have disappeared there is the closest possible affinity with those of Samoa except in regard to the U attachment, which the Samoans have certainly never employed since European contact; neither has there ever been any suggestion that they had it previously. The second fact is that both Tasman and Cook, the one in 1643 and the other in 1773, figured the stanchion attachment as the one in use at the time of their visits. So also did D'Urville and Paris. It seems probable that the Tongans, originally an offshoot from the same stock as the Samoans, had primitively the Samoan stanchion attachment, subsequently modifying this for use only in their smaller canoes into the U type, which may be a localized modification of a pair of stanchions inserted in the float in a Y or V manner, or may be a comparatively recent introduction from some non-Polynesian locality. It is a form of attachment unknown in Polynesia outside of Tonga.

[484] There is evidence that Tongan voyages, usually involuntary, extended to New Caledonia, and it is known, for example, that Wallis Islanders were drifted to the Loyalties about the beginning of the nineteenth century (Lambert, 1900, pp. 54-55). Many of these castaways remained there and formed permanent settlements in Uvea, Lifu, and other islands, but we may be sure that some returned home, and it may be that in this we have the explanation of the occurrence of the U connective in Tonga.

501 177 178

In New Caledonia the shank of the Y connective in use there is sometimes so deeply inserted into the float that it becomes reduced to an approximation to the V type. The Tongan form may have arisen from the substitution of this modified Y form for two stanchion connectives—the ordinary Tongan attachment. The V part of the device, increasing in relative importance at the expense of the shank, might assume eventually its present form, a broad and deep U-shaped section lashed at the base to two diminutive pegs, the homologues of the original stanchions or a duplication of the shank of the Y. The introduction of the U connective may have taken place at a comparatively recent date; there is reason to believe that the southern New Caledonians adopted the *ndrua* form of double canoe from the Tongans, who did not begin to change over to this design until the latter part of the eighteenth century, as is learned from the accounts of Cook and others; the sketches given by Tasman, Cook, and Paris of Tongan canoes, the *tafa'anga* in particular, all show the connectives as paired stanchions and none make any allusion to the U form.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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I was fully satisfied that they believed the soul to be immortal. I endeavoured then to obtain more information, by appearing ignorant, and desirous of knowledge on the subject. But I could get nothing further from them. Whatever notions they might have, I conceived the poverty of their language prevented their explaining them upon points so abstract.

And so immersed was I, at this time, in habits of irreligion, that I felt an aversion of heart, to give them proper instruction; nay, I wished to forget it myself; so much does guilt tie up the tongue, and harden the heart against attempting to do any spiritual good, when opportunities offer; and powerfully impel us to depart still farther from God, in order to gain a refuge from uneasy reflections.

Afterwards however in conversation with some of the chiefs I discovered that they had more precise ideas on a subject of which the commonalty had only confused and indistinct notions. They supposed that their souls immediately after the death of the body, were swiftly conveyed away to a far distant island, called Doobludha, where every kind of food was spontaneously produced, and the blessed inhabitants enjoyed perpetual peace and pleasure, under the protection and favour of the god Fliggolayo[1], who had supreme power over all other Deities, and warded off from his subjects the attempts of all that would molest or injury them. In-

1 [Errata: this should read Higgolayo. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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604 565 184 It is likely that there is a marked difference in the incidence of claims based on the *fahu* relationship between those of chiefly class on the one hand, and the commoners on the other. On the basis of his theoretical analysis, Piddington[20] for example, distinguishes three related elements in the *fahu*-complex. These elements are economic claims, claims to seniority of rank of sister's child over mother's brother, and claims to authority. He suggests that the relative importance of these elements is different in the case of commoners as compared with the Tongan aristocracy—respect and seniority (social superiority) being the essential items for royal and chiefly *fahu*, economic elements (transference of property, principally) being more important for commoners. From the viewpoint of commoner life, our observations tend to substantiate this suggestion. Whenever our informants discussed the *fahu*-system with us, they were uniformly thinking in economic terms, in terms, that is, of the transfer of pigs, food, mats and other items of Tongan wealth. Seniority, respect, authority, are of course, basic to this transfer as giving rationalization and justification for its occurrence, but these elements are secondary, not uppermost in the villager's mind. On the other hand, all accounts of chiefly *fahu*-behaviour agree with master ideas of Tongan culture in emphasizing the great significance of seniority and respect in the functioning of this aspect of the kinship system.

Kinship Reciprocity

602 In the complete interrelation of elements that make up the village kinship system as a theoretical institutional structure, there is a reciprocity of rights and duties which governs the relations of each relative to each and every other. Insofar as these rights and duties are not theoretical merely, but provide justification and basis for an interchange of economic and social goods and services, it is obvious that while there may be a theoretical reciprocity, in actual practice it may be hard to secure the conditions such that practice conforms to theory. Death may break the social fabric or marriage outside of one's village of birth. In

[113] [20] Williamson, R. W., *Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia*, edited by Ralph Piddington, Cambridge, 1937, 284-285.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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276 574 571 182 [535] [178] [177] [794] It is hard to give adequate feeling for the manifold interrelations of the *kava*-drinking circle in village life. It is to be realized that the villager has few other outlets for his sociability. Old-style Tongan dancing has practically vanished as a folk-activity. None in the village has adopted the white man's dancing. The church does not sponsor social gatherings except choir-practice meetings where opportunities for sociability are rare. The men's work takes them for the most part to their gardens by day. *Kava*-drinking provides good reason therefore for coming together during the evenings to discuss topics of common interest. In a very real sense a large village *kava*-circle is the Pangai equivalent to the New England town-meeting. It provides an outlet for social impulses and a forum in which matters of common concern may be argued. Because the composition of any *kava*-group changes materially from one night to the next, it is possible for the village to develop a uniformity of opinion and at the same time to avoid any splitting of the village into conflicting or partisan sub-groups. Four churches and four religious dogmas in a small village might [795] be a source of tension when religious belief is still a matter of life and death to the believer. There is no tendency in the village for religious differences to be significant in the formation of *kava*-groups. Hence the *kava*-circle provides a common and neutral ground where men may meet on the basis of social need and for purely social purposes.

276 574 565 184 [171] [576] It has been evident throughout this discussion that *kava*-drinking in this commoner-village of Pangai has none of those overtones of elaborate formality and delight in social design for its own sake which are so characteristic of the *kava*-circles among the Tongan noble class and also among the chiefly class of Samoa and other islands of western Polynesia. The villager is of course aware of this formality and etiquette as practised elsewhere in Tonga.[28] He has occasionally watched in all probability, a formal *kava*-party elsewhere when nobles have met or royalty has been greeted.

[28] The formal *kava*-circle with all its etiquette, rank-symbolism, and customs is well summarised by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 156-170). This account should be consulted to gain some idea of the many differences between the informal village *kava*-circle and the formal circle composed of those of chiefly and royal rank.

Such formality however, plays no part in this more humble life. He would know how to be respectful did he suddenly find himself by strange fate to be a member of an exalted *kava*-circle. He would not know in detail, however, the rigid formality that rules the procedure whereby such a party can function. In somewhat similar fashion the ordinary white man may be dimly aware that strict protocol governs the formal social life of European royalty or of a President's dinner party. But in his own daily interpersonal relations, the formalities of the distant great exist only in a dream-world, not to be imitated and only occasionally to be a matter of serious discussion.

CRIME

The village seems in general to be law abiding. During our visit one man was arrested and placed in jail for adultery: he was living with a married woman who had run away from her husband because of mutual incompatibility. The husband, jealous of his wife's new-found happiness, laid a complaint against the adulterer. The latter evaded the police for some time by spending most of his days in the bush; but the police finally arrested him one Sunday evening when he was resting in his sleep-house after coming back to the village to attend church service. There was some tendency to criticise the police for what was considered a rather unsporting play on their part. Police would not bother to arrest an adulterer unless a complaint was filed against such a person, even though the offence was well-known. The authorities seem to go on the principle of what is not complained about is not their concern.

Those who fall behind in annual poll-tax payments are arrested and jailed in Neiafu.

The villagers have great horror of stealing, though stealing itself is apparently rare. We were frequently warned against leaving our belongings unguarded in the village. We left them unguarded constantly and nothing happened to them. From many people we heard the sad story of one girl who is alleged at some time or other to have stolen a lead pencil. The girl is a marked character in the village. When we engaged her as a housegirl without knowing this terrible past history, many shook their heads

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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precise accuracy.[33] What is needed in this connection is the development of some techniques whereby the student of contemporary primitive cultures could express an index of acculturation that would state concisely and adequately the cultural level of the culture studied. This index would then constitute a simplified way of describing the position of the culture in question on an imaginary line whose polar limits would be aboriginal culture at one end and western European culture at the other end. If it were possible to establish such an index-expression for the various contemporary Polynesian cultures, we would have gone far in our understanding of what is meant by the processes of acculturation and culture change. This index might express theoretically either the number of aboriginal elements surviving in the present-day culture or else the number of new elements transferred from the carriers of the alien culture. This index-expression of the status of contemporary culture together with complete knowledge of the temporal order in which various elements of culture have been transferred from alien to aboriginal culture would then open the way for a more realistic attack upon the dynamics of the processes underlying the diffusion of culture.

[33] For a brief consideration of the number and kind of cultural elements borrowed by the Tongans from western European culture, reference may be made to Gifford, E. W., "Euro-American Acculturation in Tonga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 33, 1924, 281-292. This survey of Gifford applies to Tonga as a whole, particularly perhaps to present-day Tongan culture as carried by the Tongans of Nukualofa, the capital. Many of the changes listed by Gifford obviously do not apply to small commoner-villages, as for instance, use of water-closets, automobiles, horse and cart, telephones, motion-pictures, typewriters, addiction to horse-racing and the like. Still other of the changes refer almost exclusively to the life of the chiefly class. References to the functioning of Christianity with its commandments *(tapu)*, the use of writing, and customs relating to tobacco-smoking, and eating, apply with fair accuracy to the culture of Pangai village. When compared with village culture, Gifford's paper has some theoretical significance, however, in that it describes the results of culture-contact for the urban Tongan as opposed to the village Tongan. It thus gives insight into the dynamics of contemporary culture-change among two types of Tongan community. Reference may be made in this connection to the methodological discussion in Redfield, R., *Tepoztlan, A Mexican Village*, Chicago, 1930, and the orientation to culture-contact among the Hawaiians in Beaglehole, E., *Some Modern Hawaiians*, University of Hawaii, Res. Bull. 19, Honolulu, 1939, 7-11.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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followers were taken to Haapai as prisoners of war. This moderation on the part of conquerors was the first-fruits of the new faith, for by ancient usage the lives of the chief rebels would have been forfeited.

In 1833 Finau Ulukalala died, and on his deathbed committed the government of Vavau to Taufaahau until his heir should be grown up. Upon this the Roman Catholic missionaries have founded a charge of usurpation against King George which may be easily answered. The heir died, and before his successor had attained manhood Tonga had become a united kingdom with a Constitution, and to give Vavau an independent government would have brought the whole fabric to the ground. But Tubou showed me on more than one occasion that he was uneasy about Finau's dying charge.

Taufaahau was now in reality an independent sovereign of the joint kingdoms of Haapai and Vavau, and was free to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Tui Kanokubolu or not as he pleased. Under his influence the new religion had been embraced by the people of Haapai and Vavau with all the emotional zeal of new converts. In their restless energy, and the ease with which enthusiasm or suspicion may be excited in their minds, the Vavauans are a race distinct from their neighbours of the southern groups,—as distinct as the contrast between their mountainous romantic island and the flat shores of Haapai and Tongatabu. They may be violent partisans or bitter enemies—they cannot be neutral. They are, in short, the Irish of Tonga. It was not long before the missionaries, by awakening this curious quality of hysterical enthusiasm, had established over them a clerical despot-

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

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FISH.

1 is *mata* or *taha.*
2 is *uagamata.*
3 is *tolugamata.*
4 is *fagamata.*
5 is *nimagamata.*
6 is *tolugahoa.*
7 is *tolugahoa matelau.*
8 is *fagahoa.*
9 is *fagahoa matelau.*
10 is *nimagahoa,* and so on.
19 is *hivagahoa matelau.*
20 is *kauika.*

It will be observed that from six on the counting has been by pairs, and that *kauika* is 10 pairs of fish, and it will be clearer to write it so.

10 pairs is *kau-ika.*
20 pairs is *uaykau.*
30 pairs is *tolugakau,* and so on, *fagakau, nimagakau,* etc.
100 pairs, i.e., 10 *kau,* is *tefuhi.*
200 pairs, i.e., 20 *kau,* is *ungofuhi.*
300 pairs, i.e, 30 *kau, is tolugofuhi,* and so on, *fagofuhi, nimagofuhi, onogofuhi,* etc.
1000 pairs, i.e., 10 *tefuhi,* or 100 *kau,* is *teau.*
2000 pairs is *uageau.*
3000 pairs is *tolugeau,* and so on, *fageau, nimageau,* etc.
10,000 pairs, i.e., 10 *teau,* 100 *tefuhi,* or 1000 *kau,* is *taha afe.*

YAMS.

1 is *taha.*
2 is *uagasino.*
3 is *tolugasino.*
4 is *fagasino.*
5 is *nimagasino.*
6 is *tolugahoa,* and then the counting goes on as with the fish (with the omission, of course, of the word *ika,* fish, where it occurs in the preceding list).

These examples will serve to illustrate the method of counting other things, e.g., lengths of thatch, although different articles may have a few characteristic words, intimating to the initiated what the particular thing is that is being counted.

Although the counting by pairs does not commence in these examples until the third pair, yet counting throughout by pairs seems to be the common practice, and one informant, in describing the counting of yams, started straight off with *taha gahoa,* one pair, *uagahoa,* two pairs, and so on. This would seem to be the real everyday practice, though the purist may probably be right in maintaining that the counting of the five individuals should precede the counting by pairs. Even well-informed people in Tonga, as elsewhere, may be hard put to it to explain the exact rationale of familiar practice.

A point in actual ceremonial counting is worthy of note. Presentations of food, etc., are counted in the presence of the assemblage. Baskets of food are set out in orderly rows, and a man goes along the rows, touching and counting the baskets—the Tu'i Tonga people have a different method of touching the baskets from all others. The

[184]

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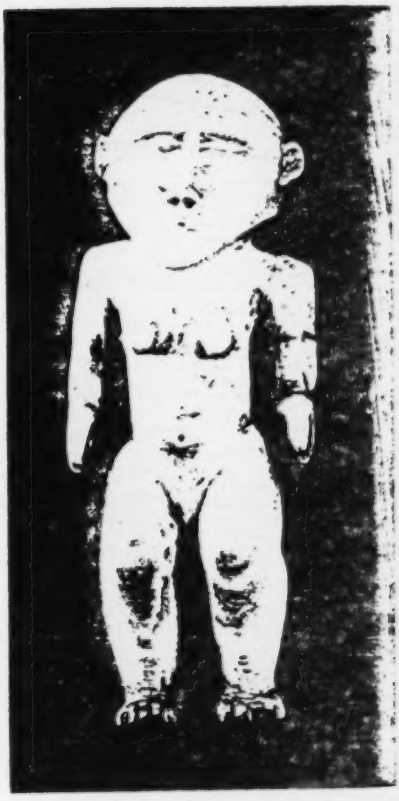

Carved figures of whale tooth ivory (which was highly valued in Tonga, as in other parts of Polynesia) were characteristic only of the Ha'apai group in Tonga. This ivory figure (actual size 5¼ inches) was probably worn by a chief as a single neck pendant or as part of an assemblage of figures on a necklace, for there is a suspension hole at the back of its neck. (Photo: Courtesy of The Museum of Primitive Art, New York)

Neongo na'e mahu'inga 'i Polinisia kotoa e ngaahi 'imisi na'e tongi mei he nifo'i tofua'a, ko Ha'apai pe 'i Tonga na'e fai ai e fa'ahinga ngaue ni. Ko e 'imisi ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta ni ('inisi 'e 5¼) mahalo na'e 'ai 'aki ha kahoa 'o ha 'eiki 'i ono'aho.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

islands, from 'Ata in the south to Niuafo'ou some 500 miles to the north, served as navigation "beacons" which lit up and signposted the vast ocean highway, making deliberate contact between parts of the group a not uncommon happening from very early times. This, in turn, encouraged cultural homogeneity and the emergence of a central political authority in the eastern more densely settled, low coral islands running parallel to the volcanic chain. A high degree of social stratification and strong dynastic rule uniting the islands can be traced back to the tenth century, and this continued without interruption for several centuries. Although the main groups of islands, Vava'u, Ha'apai and Tongatapu, had in practice become separate political entities by the time of European discovery, this is unlikely to have diminished the contact among them. In the disturbances which followed discovery the whole group was plunged into sporadic civil war (1799-1826) in which it is estimated that a quarter of the population died, and peace and unity were not really restored until 1852. Warfare, introduced diseases, and new political and missionary activities had effects on population numbers, distribution and settlement patterns no whit less dramatic than the pressure of the present day. The pace, direction and character of population movement may have changed, but movement and change are in themselves not new phenomena in Tonga.

DISPERSED AND NUCLEATED SETTLEMENTS

Today's typical settlement consists of an assortment of houses set on two-fifths of an acre allotments (*'api kolo*) sited close to the sea on the sheltered side, and some distance inland on the weather side, of an island. The settlement is nucleated, its boundaries marked by a graveyard, sometimes by an *ā kolo* or village fence, and always by a clear transition in land use: the residential village gives way to cultivated *'api tukuhau* or tax allotments, usually of 8½ acres to which all male taxpayers over 16 years are theoretically entitled. Apart from the towns of Neiafu in Vava'u, Pangai-Hihifo in Ha'apai and Nuku'alofa and nearby industrial Havelu Loto in Tongatapu, there are few differences, except in size, in form or function among villages anywhere in the group. Some, with population growth, have expanded and joined to form one continuous settlement, but even then the component parts have retained their separate identity and, with this, the characteristics of the small village.

This pattern is of relatively recent origin, for the first European explorers to visit Tonga recorded no villages as such. Tasman, who first discovered the islands in 1643, observed that "every man lived in his own gardens, the allotments being separated by reed fences."[3] Cook,

[3] Cited by Kennedy (1958): 162.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

591 166 Regarding 24 instances of virilocal marriage the following table shows the place from where the wife came.

TABLE 5 — WIFE'S NATIVE PLACE

Tongatapu	—	—	18	Fua'amotu	—	—	2
Talafo'ou	—	—	4	Ha'apai	—	—	2
Mu'a	—	—	4	Nakolo	—	—	1
Vava'u	—	—	4	Tofoa	—	—	1
Nuku'alofa	—	—	2	Ha'alalo	—	—	1
Folaha	—	—	2	Houma	—	—	1

584 Eight wives came from very near villages, Talafo'ou and Mu'a. For the villagers love seems to be a natural and strong motivation for marriage. As if to testify this, many wives are chosen from neighbouring areas. There are chances for young men to fall in love with girls from other islands who come to visit their relations in this village or vice versa. 591 166 Generaly speaking, the wives have come from near villages in the marriage of virilocal residence, while in uxorilocal residence, the husbands are from far isolated islands.

III KINSHIP ORGANISATION

Famili and Kainga

613 E. W. Gifford reported in his Tongan Society that "there exist today in Tonga a number of named lineages called *ha'a.*"[11] but, *ha'a* are not 565 known in this village or in other villages where I made enquiries. An old man told me that *ha'a* may be organised in the *eiki*, chief class, but not among the commoners.

192 612 Instead of *ha'a*, the term for kin group, *famili* is most commonly and *kainga* is much less commonly used.[12] The word *fa'ahinga* for kin group is seldom used. An informant explained that the original meaning of *fa'ahinga* is 'kind'. Some villagers think that *famili* and *kainga* indicate 612 just the same social kin group, while other do not. The extension of 581 *famili* and *kainga* is variously told as follows.

Man A: *Famili* includes grandparents, parents(including father's brother, mother's sister), father's sister, mother's brother, ego's brothers with their wives and children, sisters with their husbands and children, ego's children and grandchildren. *Famili* means one's near relations and *kainga* one's remote relations. Wife's parents and her siblings are not included even in *kainga*.

Man B: *Famili* members are paternal grandparents, parents (including father's brother in the village), siblings (including father's brother's children), children, grandchildren, and one's own wife. The spouses of siblings and their children are the members of *kainga*. Maternal grandparents who live in another village may be included in *kainga*. This would not change even if they happened to live in ego's village, though he does not know for certain. The parents and siblings of one's wife are also in the *kainga*.

11. Gifford 1929: 29 33.
12. For example, *hou'eiki mo kainga* (often equivalent to ladies and gentlemen or you in public speaking) is still used in daily life.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

relations and friends follow them in motor lorries. Having secured the civil marriage licence from the office, they proceed to the church where the religious ceremony is performed by the pastor. This ceremony should be performed within two weeks after registration at the office. Otherwise, the civil marriage licence will be declared invalid. The registration fee of 6 shillings is paid customarily by the bridegroom's family. Moreover, they pay 8 shillings in case of the Free Wesleyan Church and 2 shillings in other churches, but the fee is free in the Catholic Church. Parents of the new couple stay at each of their homes, making *umu* for the feast, *katoanga mali* which is to be held in this afternoon. On coming back to the village, the new couple rest at their own house for a while to change their clothes. Then the bride proceeds to the place of *katoanga mali* with her attendants who carry pigs, foods cooked in *umu*, bark cloths, mats and so forth. On her way the bridegroom may await her to march together to the banquet place. *Katoanga mali* is usually given at the house of the bridegroom or one of his relations . There mats and bark cloths have been already piled high. On the top of this piled bark cloth, the *fa'e tangata* sits down, on whose lap the bride takes a seat. Another *fa'e tangata* may sit in front of her to keep her feet up. The groom likewise sits on his *fa'e tangata*'s lap. *Faikava* begins now. The bridegroom who takes off his long clothes to make *kava*, serves round the *kava* cup following the order called by the *matapule*. Then the largest pig (*puaka toho*) is cut and the dorsal part is laid in front of the bride. Suddenly her father's sister or her daughter hits it, calling the name of a certain person. The nominee is entitled to eat it. This *faikava* does not last for a long time.

The things to be exchanged between the bride and groom's people are called *koloa*, which consists of bark cloth, mats, *kato alu* (basket made of *alu*), *kali hahapo* (a wooden pillow) and *kali toloni* (a wooden pillow). The *koloa* is the same for men and women, except *kali hahapo* and *kali toloni* which are not usually included in the *koloa* from the men.

After *katoanga mali* is over, the foods left over are divided by the two families. The bride's people go back to their home, leaving her behind alone. In the evening, her mother visits his house to have bark cloth and mats ready for making the bed for the bridal night.

For an observer who would like to collect the data from both sides of the couple, a marriage with both partners from the same villages would be the best to observe. Unfortunately in Nukuleka, a small village, intra-village marriage occurs seldom. Since I was able to know a better example of an intra-village marriage in Longoteme village, a much larger village, of the same island, I would like to have it described here for better understanding the kinship behaviour connected with it. Longoteme is not significantly different from Nukuleka in the custom of marriage.

A boy (S) and a girl (K) were born in Longoteme. One day S told his parents about his wish to marry K, but they were opposed to the match because they thought that he was too young to marry and his elder brother had not married yet. S was nineteen years old and K sixteen at that time. S did not give up his idea, asking his younger sister to support him. At last she succeeded in persuading the parents for her brother.

131 Tongatapu and 'Eua islands and a few smaller islets. The
131 Ha'apai Group consists of numerous small atolls. Fifteen of
162 these were inhabited at the time of the 1966 census. The
161 total area of the atolls of Ha'apai that were inhabited in
1966 is 20.1 square miles, with a population density of 521
131 per square mile. The Vava'u Group lies to the north-east
of Ha'apai. Like Tongatapu, it has a main island that gives
its name to the Group and a cluster of atolls nearby.

The distance between Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, the main towns of Tongatapu and Vava'u, respectively, is 165 miles (usually a matter of three days' journey on the government
132 passenger vessel). Within this distance the climate varies from tropical in the northern islands to sub-tropical in the south, with a mean annual rainfall of 86 inches in Vava'u and 67 inches in Tongatapu (although with considerable variation from one year to the next).

Yams, taro, sweet potato, manioc, breadfruit, bananas,
241 plantains, coconuts and watermelons are grown throughout
[184] Tonga, albeit in differing proportions in different parts of the country. Except for breadfruit, these crops yield all year round, and all but watermelons are important
241 subsistence crops. The principal cash crops are bananas,
433 coconuts and watermelons. Bananas and coconut products
[439] (copra and dessicated coconut) make up more than 90% of the value of Tonga's exports. The nation's economy is based on

121 Nuku'alofa and commute, as do secondary-school children,
621 and there is to-and-froing to shops and visiting.
[872] (2) Motulahi forms a cluster with three other villages
. . . (total population: about 3,000). Among them
[873] they have one boys' secondary school, one intermediate
school, and four primary schools. Children from one
village attend the school run by a particular church
[794] in another. Attendance at church and church member-
ship also cuts across village affiliation.
(3) The villages constitute an interesting political
contrast, in that two of them are on government land
and two on noble's land, one of which is at present
headless because there is a vacant title with little
probability of an heir.

Possibly, this village will provide me with some-
thing of a cross section of Tongan society outside
[184] of Nuku'alofa. . . . At the same time, I am aware
that more remote villages (which are usually
considerably smaller and, by definition, would be
less technologically sophisticated and have less
interaction with the capital) may be organized very
differently. I cannot apprehend the significance of
that at this time, and will therefore not concern
myself with that problem until it becomes a real
question that I could try to answer.

621 In one respect, at least, Motulahi is particularly
unlike most other villages in that the population is very
162 much larger than that of most villages. According to the
621 census of 1966, Motulahi's population numbered 1,122,
making it one of only eight villages in the whole of Tonga
with a population of more than one thousand people. At
the same time, half of all the villages in Tonga had a
population under three hundred. However, the population
of all these small villages accounted for less than one
fifth of the total population of Tonga, and only one
quarter of all the people living in villages. (Indeed,
the aggregate population of villages that had more than
seven hundred people was greater than that of all villages

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

unpredictable intervals, leaving these islands isolated for many weeks at a time and their people more independent of money and markets than people living on the bigger islands. At the time of the census of 1966 there were 27 islands that had a population of less than one thousand people; these islands comprised just under 10% of the total population of Tonga. Although I was not in a position to investigate it, these village-islands may be different in their political structure from villages that are not isolated from urban centers and from other villages. Certainly, the look of these village-islands reflects a simpler material standard of living than villages on Tongatapu, and this is related to the fact that there is less involvement in the cash economy. It should be noted, however, that the village is probably not a significant unit of variation with respect to the degree of conservativeness of the people living there, for--as we shall see in later chapters--villages as such are not significant units of organization. In this regard it is interesting to note that Belshaw makes a similar point about villages in Fiji:

> However important the village is in sentiment and ceremony, and however conservative Fijians may be with respect to the varieties of cultural expression reflected in villages, villages themselves are not the basis of social or economic variation. The notion that this village is progressive, whereas that is conservative, is too simple an explanation of differences in adjustment that may be evident (1964: 35).

48: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

TONGAN KIN GROUPS: THE NOBLE AND THE COMMON VIEW[1]

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The focus on the upper classes in society, or upon who the political leaders are and what they do, is common among Polynesian specialists. The noble view in anthropology is most notable in the recent book by Goldman[2] which focuses almost exclusively on Polynesian systems of aristocracy. Despite his title, Goldman makes it quite clear in the body of the monograph that his concern and interest are only in the upper ranks. In *Social Stratification in Polynesia*,[3] Sahlins also adopts a noble view. In his analysis of Tongan political organisation, he equates the *ha'a* system of Tonga with the kinship system, something he could not have done if he had moved his gaze from the top of the social hierarchy.[4] Contrasting with these noble views, Beaglehole[5] Aoyagi[6] and Morton[7] make it clear that they are writing about commoners and give relatively little attention to the rank aspects of kinship. Thus, the title of this paper refers not only to Tongans' views, but also to those of anthropologists.

Since the publication of *Social Stratification in Polynesia*, further data about Tongan kinship have become available in a number of articles.[8] It is now quite clear that the *ha'a* is not the only kind of Tongan kin group

1. The data presented in this paper are based on material collected mainly in Tongatapu. As such, they may be untypical of the situation in areas of Tonga that are less subject to rapid change. Field work in Tongatapu was carried out from July 1969 to May 1970 with the aid of an International Fellowship from the American Association of University Women, whose support is gratefully acknowledged.

   An earlier version of the paper was presented at the ASAO (Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania) Symposium on recent research in Samoa and Tonga at the 70th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Toronto, Canada, December 1972. The paper has benefited from extended discussion with Fred Korn and comments on the earlier version by Sharon Tiffany and Charles Urbanowicz.
2. Goldman 1970.
3. Sahlins 1958.
4. Beaglehole's study of a contemporary village is cited by Sahlins in his bibliography. A reading of Beaglehole in conjunction with Gifford makes it clear that there must have been more to the kinship system than Gifford has to say about it.
5. 1941.
6. 1966.
7. 1972.
8. Aoyagi 1966; Bott 1972; Kaeppler 1971.

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 0U9 Tonga 0U9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

In 'Uiha, slightly under half of the *'api tukuhau* were unregistered and thus technically held by commoners at the pleasure of the noble. Nevertheless, I recorded no cases of eviction. However, there were cases in which landholders whose lands were both registered and unregistered consented to 'switching' or redistribution of their lands at the request of the noble. The noble periodically requests goods from his people, most often in kind (pigs, yams, or other root crops), occasionally in money (I heard of one request for $ 100 T).[8] There was occasionally some grumbling among villagers about the injustice of these offerings, but in effect such requests are made infrequently and are always fulfilled. The noble, through his representatives, maintains an interest in the happenings within his village and sets policies for his people to follow (such as the decision to fence pigs in or let them run free), whether these accord with policies of government departments or not. Finally, the noble is in fact the largest landholder in the community, reserving for his own use a number of *'api tukuhau*. He has the option of distributing these lands to people he chooses, either for temporary use or for permanent acquisition, or he can leave his lands idle.

The above sources of *de facto* noble power on the *tofi'a* may vary considerably from community to community based on such factors as the noble's personality, the economic conditions of his family estate, and the type of relations he has to the people of his *tofi'a*. One might suppose that a noble is in fact most powerful on a *tofi'a* where he is native and resident, and least powerful on one where he is non-native and non-resident. Given the variations that might occur, the above legal limitations and existing sources of traditional prerogatives are the constants which define the content of noble-commoner relations at the village level.

In the case of type 2 villages, e.g., 'Uiha, face-to-face contact between noble and villagers is periodic. In 'Uiha, the noble, who is a Member of Parliament in Nuku'alofa, visits his estate about three times annually, each visit being one or two weeks in duration. Otherwise, the noble makes his requests known to his people through radio messages, through announcements at *fonos*, i.e., mandatory community meetings, or through his personal representatives.

Whether face-to-face or indirect, the following appears to be the pattern of noble-commoner contact within villages: a noble makes requests or queries known to his people *as a whole*, either through an intermediary or through the institution of the *fono*. That is, the noble

[8] $1.00 Tongan is equal to approximately $1.25 United States. Values in this paper are expressed in terms of Tongan dollars.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

denotes local worship. The Malaees are however doubtless public places for that purpose, as their solemn rites are perform'd there, and their superiority with respect to situation and extent which far exceeds any of their private habitations argues; besides there can be no other reasonable conjecture offer'd about the persons who pronounc'd the orations in performing the Natche & the two that began the same thing when we first went with Poulaho, than that they were no other than priests and at that time absolutely prefering some petition to this invisible being. The next part of their creed is a belief in the plurality of deitys, though all inferior to this one, amongst whom they mention Toofooa boolootoo[1] god of the clouds and fogg, Talle te'boo[2] and some others residents of the heavens. The first in rank and power, who has the government of the sea and its productions, is call'd Footo'fooa[3] who they say is a male and has for wife Fykava ka'jeea,[4] and here as in heaven there are several inferior ones as Va'hää-fonooa;[5] Tareeava;[6] Matta'ba-E'varoo[7] &c. The same religious system does not however extend all over the cluster of isles; for the supreme god of Hapaee for instance is call'd Alo Alo,[8] and other isles have two or three of different names, but their notions of the power and other attributes of these beings would be reckond erroneous with us, as they suppose that after death they have no farther concern with them.

They have however very proper notions of the immateriality and immortality of the soul. They call it life, the living principle or what is more agreeable to their notions of it an O'tooa,[9] divinity or invisible being, and say that immediately on death that of their chiefs seperates from the body and goes to a place calls 'Boolootoo,[10] the chief or god of which is Gooleho.[11] This Gooleho seems synonymous with our Death, for all (even you & the men of Feejee speaking to us) say they are subject to the power and dominion of Gooleho. They feign that this country was never seen by any person, is to the westward beyond Feejee[a] (from whence one might suppose it is the most distant land they know, as many nations have plac'd their heaven in such a

[a] This shows that their notions of distance & duration extend but a little way as they suppose an everlasting place may be on the globe.

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[1] Probably this is the same as Mariner's 'Too'i fooa Bolotoo'—Tu'i fua Pulotu, 'Chief of all Pulotu'—Pulotu being the afterworld.
[2] Taliaitupou, the god of the Tu'i Kanokupolu; also god of war.
[3] This god eludes me, even though 'first in rank and power'.
[4] Faikavakisia, elsewhere said to be male.
[5] Fakafanua, or Tu'i Haa Fakafanua. [6] Taliafa ? [7] Matapa'i-valu ?
[8] Aloalo was 'God of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in general', says Mariner, II, p. 107. His sanctuary was in Lifuka.
[9] '*Otua*. [10] Pulotu. [11] Hikuleo.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.

Religion. The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms, as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we endeavourd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe they shall be punishd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate, that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her displeasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with diseases; We coud not perceive that they had any external representation of this invisible supreme being, but we judged that a good deal of what we heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & diff[t] Islands have different religions.[1]

They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul: they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of a Chief it seperates from his body, & goes to a place calld Boolootoo,[2] the God of which is Gooleho;[3] & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlast[g] place to be on this Globe, shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance, upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the Souls of the common People to this Priviledge, but say that a great bird call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up. . . .

TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST–DECEMBER 1777

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 100v–112*]

AUGUST 13th [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more & more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Capt[n] Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he woud never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

[1] Different gods, rather.
[2] Otua was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu. [3] Hikuleo.

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

in favor of a high chief with strong alliances. A chief's "people"[26] need not be related to him by blood, but rather are associated with him by virtue of living on the land (*tofi'a*) which goes with his title.

DISCUSSION

Inequality is a conspicuous feature of Tongan social organization, but dominance and subordination do not operate in one dimension. Rather, Tonga can be characterized as having multi-dimensional ranking, and not all of the dimensions fit into one pattern. In any discussion of rank it is necessary to specify *kāinga* status; inheritance within the *kāinga;* class rank; or *ha'a* rank. For each kind of rank a different combination of principles is involved: *kāinga* status depends on maternal and paternal principles, sex, and age; *kāinga* inheritance depends on primogeniture within the patrilineal group; *ha'a* rank depends on segmentation from the Tu'i Tonga line (an individual ideally tracing his *ha'a* through his father's line); and class rank depending on one's genealogy through both mother and father.

It is interesting to note that when Tongans discuss rank they often do so with reference to "who cooks for whom."[27] In our example of the funeral, the cooks are those related through the mother of the dead man, especially the *liongi* (see Note 8). At the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 the *liongi* were those related through her mother, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga line, and especially the present Kalanivalu, who is her *tama 'a tu'asina.* Kalanivalu was *liongi* to her because of their *kāinga* relationships, even though his *ha'a* rank derives from the Tu'i Tonga, while her *ha'a* rank derives from the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Ha'a are societal divisions comprised of individuals associated with ranked titles. *Ha'a* have political and ceremonial functions and are of significance only to those in positions of power or potential power and are known mainly by chiefs who stand to benefit by power play or tradition. Most Tongans today (and probably traditionally) do not know the relative ranking or origin of the various *ha'a,* because these are affairs of the chiefs and do not concern them.

Aoyagi, who worked in Tonga in 1962 and 1963, states (Aoyagi 1966: 150) that "*ha'a* are not known in this village or in other villages where I made enquiries." Her failure to elicit information on *ha'a* is not because they do not exist, but because she asked the wrong people about them. She worked with commoners, mainly in Nukuleka, which is a village under a *matāpule,* rather than a chief. Any noble, chief, or member of his family, however, can tell one without hesitation to which *ha'a* they belong and with what senior *ha'a* they are associated. At the kava ceremony held in connection with the coronation of Tupou IV on July 6, 1967, the present title holders of the various *ha'a* took part, and they were well aware of their positions and duties within the framework of the societal structure. Aoyagi (1966: 173) takes both Gifford and Sahlins to task for characterizing Tonga as an internally stratified system, saying:

> He [Gifford] wrote that "the whole system of lineages may be likened to a tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs," which is not the case of the *famili* organisation at

60: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) OU9 Tonga OU9

or concepts is in a round-about way. This value is further exemplified in the poetry, for the words do not necessarily tell the meaning of the poem. Thus the dance creates a double abstraction—the movements allude to the words while the words allude to the hidden meaning.

The poetry is a series of concepts and references. Theoretically, these allusions should be readily recognizable in a homogeneous society such as Tonga, where the people have a common cultural tradition, and the poetry is written with the view that only allusions are necessary and the meaning is clear. In fact, however, only a few people, who are usually other poets, claim to understand the allusions with their mythological and genealogical references.

To illustrate these allusive qualities of *lakalaka* poetry I shall use as an example a *lakalaka* from Lapaha, Mu'a, Tongatapu. Lapaha was the former capital of Tonga and the traditional home of the most exalted line of Tongan rulers, the Tu'i Tonga. The people of Lapaha are known for their dancing and their knowledge of the sacred and legendary lore of Tonga. The poetry (*ta'anga*) of this *lakalaka* was composed about 1948 by the late Queen Salote Tupou III, who was a descendant on her mother's side of the Tu'i Tonga line. The melody (*fasi*) and dance movements (*haka*) were created by Vili Pusiaki of Lapaha. This *lakalaka* alludes to the legendary Tongan turtle named Sangone, but the story of Sangone is not told because it is assumed that everyone already knows the story. In fact, the tale of Sangone is only suggested in the poetry by eight lines which are a riddle that was used by a Tongan chief to find the shell of Sangone after it was buried in Samoa. The object of the poetry, however, hidden in allusions, symbols, and metaphors, is to trace the genealogy and praise the deeds and accomplishments of Tupou I, progenitor of the present line of kings—the throne now being held by Tupou IV.

The story of the turtle Sangone has been published by E. W. Gifford.[2] To summarize the main points, Hina of the underworld and a Samoan lived together in Tonga for a long time. When the Samoan wanted to visit his relatives in his homeland, Hina gave him her mother, a turtle named Sangone, to carry him home. Hina told him that the first thing he must do on his arrival in Samoa was to get a coconut-leaf mat and a bunch of coconuts for Sangone to bring back to Tonga. The Samoan did not do as he was told but went off to visit his relatives. The townspeople cooked Sangone and buried her shell in a hole. A boy named Lafai who saw where they buried Sangone was told that he would remain small (*pana*) and on the day that Sangone was found he would die.

When the story reached Tonga that Sangone's shell was buried in Samoa, the King of Tonga sent his brother, Fasi'apule, with a party to look for Sangone's shell. When they arrived in Samoa, they were served the customary *kava* (a ceremonial drink made of an infusion of the root of *Piper methysticum*). Fasi'apule, speaking in riddles that the Samoans did not understand, asked for several items. The people asked Lafaipana, who by this time was quite old but still a boy in appearance, to interpret the riddles. He knew the references, and Fasi'apule's requests were granted. Fasi'apule then sent for Lafaipana and asked him where Sangone was buried. After Lafaipana had showed the Tongan party the place he asked for a "perch for his pigeon" before they dug up Sangone. Fasi'apule, not understanding that this was a riddle, sent his men to get a perch for a pigeon.

362 Since these are also the best endowed areas for 'api tukuhau, the recent migrant is likely to build in indigenous material while those in paid employment can afford and are likely to build a house entirely of imported materials. Table V demonstrates that 43 per cent of those household heads living in houses constructed of composite materials and 53 per cent of those living in houses constructed of indigenous materials were employed in agriculture. Furthermore, of those living in composite housing only 30 per cent had been born outside Tongatapu.

[369] The overall design, internal and external arrangements of these houses differ little from those of the countryside and this again demonstrates the persistence of traditional modes of life within the town. Many houses adhere to the traditional apsidal or oval floor plan but even those with non-traditional rectangular floor plans are arranged to meet the flexible demands of sleep and entertainment. [593] Adolescent boys have a separate sleeping hut in keeping with the [343] traditional practice of brother-sister avoidance. Living, eating, [171] cooking and washing activities take place in separate buildings in keeping with practices traditional to much of Polynesia.

511 Tongans living in houses of composite materials have more
184 copra driers on their 'api kolo, clear evidence of their active involvement in agriculture. They own more horses and carts, buy less [264] imported food than those living in large wooden houses. They are more likely to follow the rural practice of eating two and not three meals a day (see Table VI). Their women folk are more involved in the making of tapa in the kautaha koko'anga, in making other Tongan handicrafts, and are active in attendance at the fale hiva or choir house of the local church.

443 A town's bazaar sector, labour intensive and family directed,
[369] is considered by some students of Asian cities to bear at least close resemblance to and have close links with the rural peasantry and therefore deserves some brief mention here. The bazaar sector in [433] Nuku'alofa is not well developed. This is because the Tongan economy itself is underdeveloped, consequently offering fewer opportunities. The main activities in the bazaar sector are small-scale trading from single room shops which sell at prices slightly in excess of the European firms from where they have purchased their goods; the hawking of handicraft goods mainly to tourists; and the sale of primary produce such as ground foods, kava, Tongan oil and shellfish.
443 In some cases the people involved are middlemen acting for villagers,
441 and one group, the fakafefine, have some form of loose cooperation which cuts across kin affiliations. The fakafefine (the word means "like a woman") work in teams, each team jealously guarding its round of customers. Some have groups of women manufacturing the articles they sell and most have trading arrangements beyond Nuku'alofa and

Table VI

Tongatapu

Diet, Possessions and Club Attendance

	House Types				
	Large Wooden %	Small Wooden %	Indigenous %	Composite %	Average
Diet					
Three meals daily	75	52	28	43	44.5
Buy Imported food	56	31	31	40	35.4
Possessions					
Two or more beds	100	55	12	27	42.4
Motorised vehicle	44	17	0	7	14.2
Horse or Cart	38	38	34	67	43.5
Club Attendance					
Fale Hiva	69	52	53	60	56.6
Fale Kava	31	66	44	50	49.5
Fale Koko'anga	19	28	41	57	38.4
Total Households	16	29	32	30	107

Source: Household Questionnaire

Notes: The answers on diet refer to activities occurring at least three times weekly; those on club attendance involved at least one person in the household. Both types of wooden house correspond with "exotic"; the information on the larger houses is included for later discussion.

sometimes beyond Tonga. The fakafefine, however, are not typical. The unit of organisation (for most Tongans involved in the bazaar sector) is the family or people of the immediate neighbourhood. Rarely does involvement in the bazaar provide the sole or main source of income for the families concerned. It provides work and income for some members of the family while others are involved in agriculture and paid employment. Participation in these three areas of economic activity involve the total labour force of the family and ensure its greatest chance of economic well-being. Nevertheless, the bazaar sector in Nuku'alofa seems likely to expand as more wealth enters the kingdom and the indigenous market expands.[24]

nuku'alofa: readapted or transformed?

McGee has suggested that "Some folk societies ... are

121 readapted rather than transformed."[25] The point is re-emphasised by Franklin who views peasant society as a "residual system" within a larger capitalist economy and points to the resilience of the peasantry.[26] Gundar Frank introduces a new dimension which, if accepted, points to a prolonged existence for peasant societies and systems. He suggests that underdevelopment in some countries is the obverse of development in others, both being part of a "single process of capitalist development".[27] The modern commentator often finds difficulty in accepting that non-western societies may not choose western forms in the final working out of their urban and rural futures but, if we accept Frank's views, the peasantry appear to have an assured future in underdeveloped countries. Franklin's observation that the peasantry shows remarkable resilience in adverse conditions typical of underdeveloped countries seems to support this. Both writers would appear to agree that the increased penetration of capitalism does not necessarily eliminate peasant systems of production—or, presumably, peasant-like attitudes within the broader
128 society. At this point it would therefore seem appropriate to
511 consider those reasonably well-off families living in Nuku'alofa
184 (those living in "large wooden" houses (see Table VI)) whose paid employment makes them independent of a supplementary income from agriculture and who, for purely economic reasons, would do better by opting out of kin obligations.

369 How far have these urbanised and often superficially
184 westernised families rejected activities common to others in the town? They are by definition less involved in the peasant economic system but they remain very much a part of the traditional society. All attitudes to important events in the life cycle, such as birth, the celebration of the first birthday, circumcision, courtship, marriage and death, are retained. Their attitudes towards the organisation of society, the hierarchy of king, nobles, church, family and authority
[353] generally, are also retained. The physical organisation of their
[352] houses is the same in spite of a greater abundance of western articles and furniture. It is not uncommon, for example, for beds to be used for the storage of special mats while the people sleep on the floor. In one case the adults slept on mats in a traditional fale leaving the comforts of their modern house for the convenience of others.
[558] Sleeping, eating, cooking and washing units are kept apart, kava remains an important ceremonial and social drink, the stone umu is still used, tapa and mats remain symbols of wealth and prestige and the wearing of the ta'ovala and kiekie remain as signs of the well dressed. Participation in the kautaha koko'anga is less evident but these families are keen recipients of "gifts" made by such activities. They are actively involved in the fale hiva which, in this respect, is a rallying point for established and status conscious families. The closer these people become to the apex of society, the more committed

they are to its retention. The less well-off may retain traditional values and activities because they act as socio-economic securities; the better-off because they enhance their socio-political status (see Table VI).

Attitudes to misdemeanours and crimes such as illegitimacy, prostitution, the fakafefine and prisoners are much the same among the upper levels of urban society as they are among the rural peasants. Crimes are often considered irritating or amusing. A thief who avoids detection is "cunning", one who is caught is "stupid"; an unmarried mother is "silly"; working groups of prisoners stop to talk to friends in the street and are readily accepted back into the community upon their release. A different view, however, is taken when one breaks social tapu concerning kin and rank. Any lapse in the social graces is viewed most seriously. The people of Nuku'alofa, to adapt Frank's analogy, operate within a chain of constellations and satellites based on kin and rank and within this chain social and economic functions are barely separable. The people are more money conscious than they were, they are subjected to the influences of tourism and the pressures of population growth, but to date there are few signs that these changes have caused a corresponding change in attitudes towards kin, an essential concept of peasant and traditional societies.

With empirical studies of Pacific towns still in their infancy, there seems little point in fixing a label to the features we have described in Nuku'alofa. A too ready use of such terms as "agro town", "pseudo-urbanisation" or "subsistence urbanisation" will not help to untangle the webs of society. Certain sectors of the town are predominantly peasant; others are at least partly proletarian or bourgeois, and the two sectors are inextricably interwoven. Clearly peasant systems and peasant attitudes are not purely a rural phenomenon. They can exist among migrants to towns, in the bazaar and tertiary sectors and the traditional attitudes which stem from rural socio-economic roots can be found at all levels of town society. In the long run the social and cultural attitudes of classes within a society usually reflect their economic interests. What is not clear in Nuku'alofa is whether classes, in the usual sense of the word, yet exist. In the short run Tonga and other underdeveloped countries are "all at different stages of development, or underdevelopment, as a result of their varying historical experiences of capitalism, their indigenous socio-economic structures, and the interaction of the one on the other."[28] There is nothing inevitable about the end result. The theoretical model of transition from peasant to proletariat is not predictive and for Nuku'alofa radical changes seem a long way off. At present there is considerable evidence that the so-called rural element is increasing. Labour is not becoming more specialised, the

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

explanation seems to lie in the relationship between settlement and marine resources. In the past, fishing and reef-collecting were important subsistence activities along with food cropping, although in recent years they have declined as canned meat and fish have become more easily obtainable. Settlement therefore tended to concentrate along the most productive shores; in Tongatapu, for instance, over 70 per cent of the villages are located along the low northern shore and around the lagoon, the areas considered to be the most productive in seafoods, while in Ha'apai, which has particularly extensive reefs and fishing grounds, only the very smallest islands or those without *kelefatu* soils have failed to attract settlement. Conversely, in 'Eua the surrounding reef is narrow and sometimes dangerous and the offshore waters deep and unsheltered, and until recently the island, despite its size, had only a tiny population. Population densities were therefore higher where shores and reefs were productive but the land area limited, as in western Tongatapu, Ha'apai and parts of southern and eastern Vava'u, than where productive shores were backed by extensive areas of land, as in central and eastern Tongatapu. The lowest population densities were along unproductive shores, as in 'Eua, western Vava'u and parts of the south coast of Tongatapu.

This subsistence-orientated distribution of population in the past has by now been considerably modified by internal migration, which constitutes the second broad explanation of the present population pattern. Internal migration is largely directed towards Nuku'alofa, the capital, central and eastern Tongatapu and 'Eua, and away from western Tongatapu, Ha'apai, Vava'u and Niuatoputapu. It reflects movement in search of employment, education, land for cash cropping, and the attractions of urban life and is a result of the growing regional inequalities in development and opportunities within Tonga. Further discussion of migration, however, will be left to a later section, where it is examined in the context of the response of Tongans to population pressure. The main effect of internal migration on the earlier pattern of population distribution has been to reduce the contrasts between central and eastern Tongatapu and the long standing areas of high population density, but as migration appears to be continuing at a high rate further changes in population distribution can be expected.

Having outlined the main elements of land resources and population distribution we may now turn to the question of population

[445]

175 [565] As soon as the captains had delivered their present, they returned to the ships, and the chief came on board with us. Our anchor was weighed, our sails were spread to the wind, and we forsook this happy island when we had scarce discovered its beauties. [439] [565] [609] The chief, after selling a number of fish-hooks for nails and beads, hailed one of the canoes which were passing by, and left us with looks which spoke his friendly, open disposition.

[101] [133] We now sailed along the western shore of Tasman's Amsterdam island, which the natives called Tonga-Tabboo, and found it a very [131] low flat land, compared with that which we had left. The middle of this island is nearly in 21° 11′ S. latitude, and 175° W. longitude. [133] Its highest elevation above the level of the sea, appeared to the eye never to exceed six or seven yards perpendicular. [311] [184] On the other hand, its extent was much more considerable than that of Eaoowhe, and by the help of our spying-glasses, we discovered the same regular plantations which we had so much admired there, and saw the shores crouded with inhabitants, who gazed at us, probably with as much attention as we bestowed upon them. When we were about half way between both islands, or nearly three leagues from each, we were met by several canoes full of men, who attempted to come along-side, but as we happened to be too far to windward, they could only fetch the Adventure, where they came on board.

175 133 [446] In the afternoon we approached the northernmost end of the island, and perceived some small isles connected by reefs to the eastward. Their situation and that of the shoal to the northwest, where the sea broke with great violence, convinced us that we were now arrived at the very place where Tasman anchored in 1643,

[448 cont.]
Part of it appeared to have been planted
with yams, but the rest was full of grass, and had a little swamp
in the middle, where the purple water-hen, of poule sultane,
resided in great numbers. As soon as we left this, we entered into
a lane about six feet wide, between two fences of reed, which
enclosed extensive plantations on each side. Here we met many of
the natives, who were traveling to the beach with loads of
provisions, and courteously bowed their heads as they passed by us
in sign of friendship, generally pronouncing some monosyllable or
[449] other, which seemed to correspond to the Taheitian tayo. The
enclosures, plantations, and houses were exactly in the same style
as at Ea-oowhe, and the people had never failed to plant odoriferous
shrubs round their dwellings. The mulberry, of which the bark is
manufactured into cloth, and the bread-tree, were more scarce than
at the Society Isles, and the apple of those islands was entirely
unknown, but the shaddock well supplied its place. The season of
spring, which revived the face of all nature, adorning every plant
with blossoms, and inspiring with joyful songs the feathered
tribe, doubtless contributed in a great measure to make every object
pleasing in our eyes. But the industry and elegance of the natives,
which they displayed in planting every piece of ground to the greatest
advantage, as well as in the neatness and regularity of all their
works, demanded our admiration, whilst it gave us room to suppose,
that they enjoyed a considerable degree of happiness.

One of the lanes between the enclosures led us to a little grove,
which we admired for its irregularity. An immense casuarina tree
far out-topped the rest, and its branches were loaded with a vast
number of blackish creatures, which we took for crows at a distance,

[452 cont.]

175 764 surrounded with the finest groves. That which I have here described, 114 126 was drawn by Mr. Hodges, and an exact representation of it is inserted in captain Cook's own account of this voyage.

175 123 We continued our walk through the plantations, and met with very few inhabitants, they being almost all gone towards the trading- 175 123 609 place. Those we saw passed by us, or continued their occupations without stopping on our account. Neither curiosity, nor distrust and jealousy excited them to prohibit our farther progress; on the contrary, they always spoke in a kind tone to us, which sufficiently 175 characterized their disposition. We looked into many of the houses 351 184 [352] 123 [417] and found them empty, but always laid out with mats, and delightfully situated among odoriferous shrubs. Sometimes they were separated from the plantations by a little fence, through which a door, like those of Ea-oowhe, gave admittance, which could be shut on the inside. In that case only the area, which this fence enclosed around the hut, was planted with the odoriferous grove, which is so much in 175 133 request with the natives. A walk of three [453] miles brought us to the eastern shore of the island, where it forms a deep angle, which Tasman called Maria Bay. Where we fell in with it, the ground sloped imperceptibly into a sandy beach; but as we walked along towards the north point, we found it rose perpendicularly, and in some places it was excavated and overhanging. It consisted, however, entirely of coral, which is a strong proof of some great change on our globe, as this rock can only be formed under water. Whether it was left bare by a gradual diminution of the sea, or perhaps by a more violent revolution which our earth may formerly have suffered, I shall not venture to determine. So much, however, may be assumed as a certainty,

[455 cont.]
We likewise
175 found a new musical instrument, consisting of eight, nine, or ten
534 slender reeds, about nine inches long, joined to each other by some
[283] fibres of coco-nut core. The length of its reeds [456] seldom varied
much, and the long and short ones were placed promiscuously; a
notch was formed at the top of each, and the method of playing was
only to slide the instrument backwards and forwards along the lips.
It had commonly not above four or five different notes, and we never
[171] met with one which included a whole octave. Its resemblance to the
syrinx, or Pan's flute of the civilized Greeks, dignified it much
175 more than any music which it contained. From the method of playing
533 it, the lovers of music will easily conceive that this divine art
[184] is entirely in its infancy among the inhabitants. The vocal part,
which is the same as we had already observed it at Ea-oowhe, is very
far from being unharmonious, and the women beat time to it by
snapping their fingers very exactly; but its whole extent is only of
175 four notes, and therefore cannot admit of any variety. They had like-
534 wise a flute of a bamboo-reed, nearly of the thickness of a German
171 flute, which they played with the nostrils, like the Taheitians.
175 They commonly had ornamented it with various little figures, burnt
53 in, and pierced four or five holes in it, whereas the Taheitian flute
322 had but three in all. The method of ornamenting wood by burning
[534] figures into it, was frequently observed in their bowls and various
[171] other utensils.
[415]

175 It was near sun-set when we returned on board with our collection,
609 and found the vessels still surrounded by many canoes, and the natives
[831] swimming about extremely [457] vociferous. Among them were a considerable
[171] number of women, who wantoned in the water like amphibious creatures,

[472 cont.]

175 123 [648] before me, and took that opportunity of running off. My friend joined me immediately; and we concluded, that if there was something treacherous or vicious in the behaviour of this fellow, our separation was also imprudent, because it had furnished him with an opportunity to exercise his talents. We continued strolling about for some time, without [473] any sinister accident, and returned to the trading-place on the beach, where we found almost all the 175 people whom we had left. Many of them were now seated in different 571 little groups, which appeared to be so many separate families, and [517] consisted of persons of various ages and sexes. They were all in conversation, of which no doubt the arrival of our ships furnished the topics; and many of their women amused themselves either with 175 singing or playing at ball. There was a young girl in particular, 142 whose features were more regular than common, her eyes sparkling 302 with vivacity, her whole frame admirably proportioned, and, what was most remarkable here, her long jetty hair hanging down in 175 graceful curls on her neck. This girl, lively and easy in all her 524 actions, played with five gourds, of the size of small apples, perfectly globular; she threw them up into the air one after another continually, and never failed to catch them all with great dexterity, 175 at least for a quarter of an hour. The musical ladies again performed 533 the same tune which we had already heard at Ea-oowhe, the different 184 voices falling in with each other very harmoniously, and sometimes 175 joining all together as in chorus. Though I never saw the natives 535 of these islands dance, yet we may add this amusement to the list 292 of those which they are acquainted with, from their own accounts 124 439 and gestures whenever they sold us their aprons made of stars of

[479 cont.]

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184 smile as he conversed with Attagha. Among the croud, we observed a single man, who differed from all the rest, by having suffered his hair to grow, and having twisted it into several round bunches, which hung wildly about his ears. This man, and the young girl mentioned page 468 were the only persons we met with, who had [480] not conformed to the general custom of cutting off the hair.

175
439 After a short conversation with the natives, of whom we bought a variety of their tools, on account of their elegant carving, we returned on board to breakfast, and immediately after weighed the

175 anchors and set sail. The provisions lying in confused heaps on the decks, prevented our going into the open sea immediately. We therefore kept standing off and on, under shelter of this island, and did not take our departure till towards evening, when we shaped our course southerly.

The next morning [October 8], the weather being nearly calm, we caught a shark, eight feet long, consequently bigger than any

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101 we had seen before. In the afternoon we saw the little isle which Tasman calls Pylstaerts Island. This name refers to the birds,

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136 which the Dutch navigators observed there, and which in all probability were tropic birds. Pylstaert literally signifying arrow-tail, alludes to the two long feathers in the tail of this bird, from whence

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131 its French name of paille-en-queue is likewise derived (26). Its

26. See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. p 75. where they are called wild ducks.

175 latitude is 22° 26' S. and its longitude 170° 59' W. A contrary S. W. wind which sprung up towards evening, obliged us to cruize about till the 10th in the morning, when we came [481] in sight of this

[133] little islet again. It is of a moderate height, and has two hummocks,

[See p. 55 of HRAF manuscript--Analyst.]

[171 cont.]

they continued to trade with us. They sold us coco-nuts, excellent yams, bread fruit, bananas, shaddocks, and other fruit. They also brought purple water-hens alive, and a fine well-tasted sparus ready dressed in leaves; also a curious stringy root baked, which contained a very nourishing pulp, of such a sweetness, as if it had been boiled in sugar. All these things were eagerly bought for nails, which were esteemed according to their size, and for pieces of our cloth. Their canoes, their persons, dress, customs and language so entirely resembled those of Tonga-Tabboo, that we could perceive no difference. As this island is at a short distance from Namoka, it is not improbable that the inhabitants of the latter might have heard of our arrival there in October, 1773.

The next morning [June 27] captain Cook landed early in a sandy cove, which is accurately described by Tasman. It is enclosed by a reef, and has a narrow entrance for boats at the south end. It is so shallow, that our boats could only come in at high water. The captain purchased a pig, and was conducted to a pond of fresh water at a short distance from the beach, the same where Tasman had supplied his ships with water. The hospitality of the natives was exercised [172] in its utmost extent, and one of the handsomest ladies of the island complimented the captain with an offer, which was not accepted. Having examined the watering place, he returned on board to breakfast, and gave strict orders, that no persons infected with or lately cured of venereal complaints should be suffered to go on shore, and that no women should be admitted in the ship. A number of ladies came off in several canoes, and seemed very desirous of making acquaintance with our sailors; but after paddling about the ship for some time, they were

[187 cont.]

flowers of all kinds, many of which filled the air with fragrance. The variety of scenes formed by many little risings, and different groups of houses and trees, together with the lagoons, conspire to adorn this island. The fowls and hogs which we saw in the neighbourhood of every dwelling, the prodigious number of shaddocks which lay under every tree, hardly noticed by the natives, and the quantities of yams which filled their houses, gave a picture of abundance and affluence which delighted the eye and comforted the heart. At sight of plenteous prospect, [188] human nature feels an instinctive satisfaction, and good humour and joy are soon revived in the most dejected breast. Amidst the dismal scenes of our voyage, these intervening moments are remarkably contrasted, and therefore had a great effect upon us. It is so natural to dwell upon pleasing subjects, that I hope, I need not apologize for my frequent descriptions; and I must refer the reader to Mr. Hodges's view in the interior parts of Namoka, which will give an idea of a farm in that island. It is engraved and inserted in captain Cook's account of this voyage.

The natives, who were happy enough to call these fertile groves their own, did not appear to me to differ in any respect from those of Tonga-Tabboo, and Ea-oowhe. Their stature was middle-sized, their colour a bright chesnut brown, and their whole body well proportioned, without being corpulent. Their punctures, their dress, the customs of clipping the beard, and powdering the hair, their arms, utensils, and canoes, their language and manners were exactly such as we had noticed at Tonga-Tabboo. But in the short time which we staid on their island, we could not observe any subordination among them, though this had strongly characterised the natives of Tonga-Tabboo, who seemed to

[188 cont.]

554 descend even to servility in their obeisance to their king. At Namoka
175 we could not distinguish any persons of superior rank or authority,
unless we except the man, whom our sailors called a Custom-house officer,
302 and who inspected all [189] the canoes which came to the ship. The
554 woman who sent for the stolen things, appeared also to have some sway
175 among them; and since there is reason to suppose, that women whose
hair are allowed to grow long, have some prerogatives above the rest
in the South Sea (7). Mr. Patton's friendly benefactress seems to

7. See vol. I. p. 327.

have been a lady of a superior class, which her whole deportment confirmed. She was the only woman with long hair whom we saw on the island.
642 I am far from concluding that the people of Namoka have no fixed
175 government; on the contary, their vicinity and similarity to other
islanders, amongst whom a monarchical government takes place, and the
example of all the other islanders of the South Sea which former navigators have examined, give the greatest room to suppose the same
184 existing there. The general coincidence of their manners with those
764 of Tonga-Tabboo, strongly prove that they have the same origin, and
175 probably the same religious notions; but not withstanding this
agreement, I never found a fayetooka or burying-place, during my rambles
upon Namoka, nor did any one of our shipmates meet with a place in
any wise resembling the burying-places which we found at Tonga-Tabboo.

It appears, from the accounts of former voyagers, that between
101 the meridians of 170° east from Greenwich, and [190] 180°, there is
175 a great number of islands, from the 10th to the 22nd degree of latitude,
all which, as far as they are known, seem to be inhabited by one race
of people, who speak the same dialect of the South Sea tongue,

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
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TABLE IV

125 SPECIES TESTED FOR ALKALOIDS (ALL NEGATIVE)

Binomial	Plant Part
Annona muricata	leaves
Cananga odorata	leaves
Casuarina equisetifolia	bark
Clerodendrum inerme	bark
Erythrina variegata	leaves
Euodia hortensis	leaves
Ficus obliqua	bark and leaves
Glochidion ramiflorum	bark
Hernandia moerenhoutiana	leaves
Jasminium simplicifolium	bark
Lantana camara var. *mista*	leaves
Syzygium corynocarpum	leaves
Syzygium malaccense	bark
Tarenna sambucina	bark
Thespesia populnea	leaves

Using both Mayer's and Ecolle's reagents, two separate tests for the presence of alkaloids were completed in the laboratory. The two reagents were chosen because of their variable sensitivities to different kinds of alkaloids.

All tests conducted in the laboratory for the presence of alkaloids in 15 crude drug samples were negative. The species tested are enumerated in Table IV.

VII. Discussion

757 Apparently the Tongan prefers to be treated for serious ailments by doctors in the government hospitals. Plant remedies are employed in emergencies or when "European" medical practices have failed to 757 effect a cure. Tongan folk-medicine is an art practiced mainly by the oldest people. 184 Although one or two practitioners encountered on Tongatapu were about 30 years of [759] age, the others were well over 60. Young people generally consider plant medicine a form of superstition and look upon its practice as not really effective, if not actually dan- 757 gerous. There is no systematic schooling for transmitting these plant remedies from one 868 generation to the next, and for this reason I believe that with the passing of one more generation little of this traditional knowledge will survive, except in occasional notebooks stored with other possessions of another age.

[p. 448-A]

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

has been made to increase allotments to the statutory size, because this would have involved the dispossession of many landholders; surveys have therefore simply defined the existing boundaries except where allotments proved to be more than eight and a quarter acres, and most holdings are from three to six acres in size. The typical pattern of land distribution in these areas is shown in the figures for Ha'avakatolo (western Tongatapu) and Ha'afeva and 'Uiha (Ha'apai) in Table 1. In Ha'avakatolo (see Figure 1) on an hereditary estate, land shortage is eased because some men have allotments on near-by estates. Furthermore, since few allotments in Ha'avakatolo have been registered, there has been nothing to prevent some men from acquiring two or even three, with a total area of over eight acres; the head of one household in 1962, for example, had inherited a registered eight-acre allotment from his father, but also held an unregistered three-acre allotment given to him by the estate-holder, although this is contrary to the intention of the law.

In Ha'afeva the pattern of land distribution is complicated by out-migration. In 1966 no less than forty of the ninety-one persons who held land on the island (some of whom were widows) had moved either temporarily or permanently to other islands. Their land was left in the care of others, and the pattern of land distribution which resulted is shown in Table 2. Land was usually left in the care of relatives, not necessarily those without land of their own. Thus despite the fact that at the beginning of 1966 there were more holdings on Ha'afeva than there were households, nearly twenty per cent of the households still did not have control over an allotment. To what extent Ha'afeva is typical of other islands in Ha'apai is difficult to determine. The Governor of Ha'apai estimated in 1964 that about fifteen per cent of tax allotments in the group were held by non-residents (Tonga 1964:47), but several informants indicated that the pattern on Ha'afeva was similar to that on several other islands in the group.

Table 2: Land Distribution, Ha'afeva, 1966*

	Percentage distribution of households by acreage of land held or looked after						
	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16 and over
Land held	43	10	28	12	7	–	–
Total land held or looked after	19	5	33	27	12	2	2

* Based on a sample of approximately half the households in the village

[See Category 423, p. 109—Analyst.]

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

strategy of considering all arguments and making careful investigations before appointing successors to titles. Rather than trying to modify the legal process in minimizing the occurrence of succession cases, the King apparently has attempted to make formal litigation superfluous. With formal legal qualifications, the King is capable of accurately evaluating the possible legal consequences of his appointments. In sum, the unrestrained prerogative of the monarch in appointing noble titles, lost by Queen Sālote in the 1920's, has been partially recovered through the apparent, sophisticated strategy of appointment by her son and successor, Tupou IV.

Relationships Within Noble Kin Groups

If the ideals of *'ofa* ("love", "empathy" — See Kavaliku, 1961) and kinship amity within Tongan kin groups are as strong in practice as they are ideologically, one might wonder why questions of succession ever surfaced to public view in the form of court litigation, rather than being resolved by some informal process of dispute resolution within the kin group concerned. One answer which deserves serious consideration is that litigation was not motivated by the claimants at all in most cases, but by the few Tongan lawyers who pioneered and specialized in arguing for or against succession claims.

The indigenous lawyers form an interesting sub-group in Tongan society, numbering between 20 and 30, and typify the most successful and achievement-oriented commoners in the decades before 1960, when few Tongans had yet been abroad for training, other than secondary education.[18] The typical Tongan lawyer before the 1960's had come from a village community, usually excelled in a church or government school and/or in government service, and had passed, through self-study, a local examination given by the European Chief Justice, which qualified him to practise law. Often, the indigenous attorneys farmed their tax allotments as all other Tongans ideally did, as well as practised law. Typically, they could look forward to short or long term participation by election in the Legislative Assembly.

As the only western-styled politicians in a society with no political parties or grass-roots feeling for individual articulation of political opinion, the Tongan lawyers occupy an important position in Tongan social organization. On one hand, they court the favour of the monarch and office-holding aristocrats in order to ensure continued success in their profession, and as such they have often served as brokers or middle-men between the monarch and the mass of the population with reference to the interpretation and explanation of government and legal matters. On the other hand, the lawyers as advocates in the legal

[18] There are still very few overseas trained Tongan lawyers, and none in private practice in Tonga. The three overseas qualified lawyers in Tonga are within the government (the King, the Secretary to Government, and the Crown solicitor — there are also an expatriate Crown Prosecutor and Chief Justice). Although a number of Tongans are in legal training abroad, few will apparently complete their studies, and of this number, it is uncertain how many will return to Tonga to practice.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

'Uiha is the burial-place of great chiefs, including Tubouniua, Tubouto'a, Tevita 'Uga and Vuna. The finest mound ('eji) in Tonga, named Maka Hokovalu, is situated on the north-west of this island. The village of 'Uiha also boasts six cannon taken from a kidnapping ship which met its merited doom while making a raid on the island about the middle of the 19th century.

Tugua was the residence of the highest personage in ancient Tongan society, the Tamaha.

Nomuka, in the south of the group, was visited by more voyagers than any other island in Tonga. The pond of fresh water from which Tasman, Cook, Bligh and others took supplies is readily pointed out.

Navigation lights have been placed at Muifuiva, in the south, and at Muitoa, Ha'ano, in the north of Ha'abai. Some islands cannot be approached in bad weather. Many of the smallest ones are uninhabited, though there are various traces of former habitation or of use for plantations or burial-places at Ofolaga, Kelefesia and the 'Otu Tolu.

VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO. Three-fifths of this beautiful northern group is in one island, 'Uta Vava'u, but the remaining islands are only separated from the mainland by narrow channels. All these islands are comparatively high and undulating, thickly-wooded and very fertile. The highest point is 670 feet. From the hill called Talau, behind the chief town, Neiafu, a magnificent panorama can be obtained, embracing all the islands in the group. Along the northern coast of the main island there are very fine views from the high cliffs at the seat ('eji) of Salote near Hologa and at Ha'alaufuli.

The harbour of the main island is one of the most picturesque in the Pacific, though shallows and sandbanks make navigation difficult in some places. The Swallows' Cave, often visited by tourists, is on the north of Kaba. The secret cave, entered only by diving, which Mariner's story and Byron's poem have made famous, is situated on the north of the island of Nuababu ; here the young chief left his bride until they could embark for Fiji and be safe from the wrath of their relatives.

Neiafu, the port and residence of the governor, is beautifully situated, and good roads radiate from this centre. Until recently at least the average prosperity of the natives in Vava'u was rather higher than in other parts of the group, and they have expended their resources on European houses and European food to a greater extent than elsewhere. Vava'u is not as subject to hurricanes as the more northerly islands of Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu, but nevertheless it has suffered rather frequently, the last occasion being 13th March, 1932.

It is remarkable that Vava'u was the last part of Tonga to be discovered, the honour falling to the Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781.

Various places recall the incidents mentioned in Mariner's history, and especially Feletoa, where the great fight of Finau Ulukalala II took place and where Finau himself was buried in 1809. Parts of the great trench, and also a cave and underground river, may be seen at Feletoa.

An ancient but incredible tradition states that a long wall of coral stones at Makave, known as the Kilikilitefua, was made by casting a stone for every first-born son in the district.

601 612 red are kainga and famili. The term famili seems to be a more exclusive term and refers more to consanguineal ties, whereas kainga, the term which is used in this description of kinship relations, has a broader connotation and generally includes affines (non-blood relations), such as brothers and sisters-in-law or adopted children .

602 592 612 592 An individual's ties with his kinsmen are operative on two levels: within the household and within the broader extended family or kainga. The Tongan household, generally referred to as an 'api (an allotment of land), is the basic social and economic unit. It can be defined as a group of

591 individuals working, eating,and sleeping together. Residence is primarily patrilocal, with the wife moving to the husband's village, although there are numerous cases of matrilocal or neolocal residence.

592 [596] [594] [178] In the past, most households were composed of extended families; however, at present the trend is more toward nuclear families, comprised of a man and wife and their real and/or adopted children. Many households also include unmarried brothers or sisters, a parent, or even a friend or relative from another village or island group. As of the 1966 census, the mean household size for Tongatapu was 6.9

612 persons. The larger unit, the kainga, not only includes the individual household, but also those bilateral kindred who reside in other households, villages, or island groups. The

[602] [184] size of this broader kindred group, and closeness of ties

612 602 184 within the group, depend primarily on the individual's knowledge of his consanguineal relatives and their whereabouts (Morton, 1972).

602 593 554 The eldest sibling of a given sex is of highest rank; among siblings, a female is of higher rank than the male; and in marriage, the man's kinsmen are of a higher rank than the woman's kinsmen. As a result, brothers and their children are of inferior rank to their sisters and their children. Likewise, children in any marriage are inferior to their father's kinsmen and superior to their mother's kinsmen.

The consequences of rank become more obvious when viewed in its traditional context. Traditionally, anyone of higher rank had rights to the property of kinsmen of inferior rank, both on the household and kainga levels. For example, a man's sister's children, referred to as 'ilamutu are all fahu (above the law) to him. The fahu can take any of the man's possessions and he is expected to make ceremonial presentations to his fahu (Kaeppler, 1971:188).

Similarily, the children can demand food or other material possessions from their other maternal kinsmen, but they must show respect toward and provide for their paternal kinsmen. All of these relationships between kinsmen, which are established by either birth or marriage, are similar for each person in the Tongan society. Every Tongan has inferior kinsmen and superior kinsmen, the relationships with whom [562] are all unilateral. Although the female is superior in rank

241 indicated membership in other planting organizations, most
476 of which required members to plant bananas, yams, and other crops on their own land, in accordance with a pre-determined quota. To insure that the crops are planted and well-maintained the members periodically inspected each member's allotment.

Another form of kautaha is the kautaha le'o vao; its main purpose is to patrol bush allotments to prevent theft of agricultural products, especially coconuts for making
[184] copra. These groups seem to be much more prevalent in the
[464] Ha'apai group and only four households of the Tongatapu sample of 138 households indicated membership, while 9 indicated that they paid kautaha to patrol their allotments.
[465] The payment is generally a small amount of cash or mature
241 coconuts. In most cases, the villagers on Tongatapu seem to be content to look after their crops themselves.

241 There are also many households who pay independent
464 kautaha ngaue to work on their allotments. These paid kautaha serve a similar function to the kautahe toungaue and are often hired when large amounts of labor are needed. Of 140 sample households, 33 percent had paid others to work on their land during 1971.

476 Women's communal work groups are also common and
287 include the koka'anga, the toulanganga, and the toulalanga. The koka'anga and the toulanganga both function in the preparation of tapa cloth. The koka'anga is performed when

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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Chapter VII.

TAUFA'AHAU AND THE CONVERSION OF HA'APAI AND VAVA'U (1829-34)

In his own territory of Ha'apai, and afterwards when Vava'u came under his control, Taufa'ahau vigorously promoted the new religion. In both groups Christianity was accepted, nominally, by the entire population in the space of a few years. This was almost entirely due to Taufa'ahau. He himself was under no doubt about the desirability of adopting Christianity. He had visited Nuku'alofa when the Tahitians began in 1826 and had discussed the matter with Aleamotu'a at that time. He came into contact with the Wesleyan missionaries soon afterwards. Early in 1828 he asked Nathaniel Turner for a missionary for Ha'apai. Though unsuccessful in this endeavour he went back, determined to oppose heathen practices and to adopt Christian customs, beginning with Sabbath observance. He constrained an English sailor living in Ha'apai to become his guide. This man traced the letters of the alphabet in the sand as the first step in teaching, and he also offered prayers in a house which Taufa'ahau set apart for this purpose — surely a strange duty for this castaway sailor.

Before long Taufa'ahau was the champion of Christianity in all places under his influence. His endorsement, with the authority he wielded, would have made it difficult for objectors to withstand him. The degree to which the people of Ha'apai were obliged to accept Christianity is open to question. There was, as a matter of fact, very little opposition in either Ha'apai or Vava'u to Taufa'ahau's efforts. The old religion had not been so firmly held that people would hold out against the leadership of a chief with the dominating personality of Taufa'ahau.

It was a different matter in Tongatapu where there was a spirit of rebellion against Taufa'ahau even after he became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845. Chiefs and people in Tongatapu who did not support Taufa'ahau on other grounds were not likely to heed his promotion of Christianity.

The missionaries were delighted to have such a champion. In Tonga, as elsewhere in the Pacific, the conversion of chiefs was held to be of the highest importance because a movement of their people towards Christianity could be expected to follow. The early missionaries could hardly foresee the dangers inherent in a "chiefly church". Not only would the motives of chiefs and people, in some cases, be suspect and their acceptance of Christianity superficial. There was the problem of a chief exercising too much authority in the affairs of the Church. The missionaries also might be inclined to acquiesce too readily in the chief's wishes to the detriment of their spiritual work. There was a risk, on the other hand, of offending the chief. When a chief clashed with missionaries and incited his people to follow him (as happened with the secession from the Wesleyan Church in Tonga in 1885) the danger of a Church being dominated by a chief became apparent. Today the waning of the secular authority of chiefs in

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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I am tired of my spirits; they tell me so many lies that I am sick of them. . . . My island, sir, will turn to the Great God, because I am the only chief on the island; I have no one to control me. When I turn, they all turn. To be sure, I did try to take a ship; but there will be no more of that . . . So no more from me, a wicked sinner. FINAU (his mark) XXX." (24)

At length Finau sent a message to Taufa'ahau offering to receive a missionary if one came direct from England; this was typical of a Tongan chief's pride and meant that Finau would look askance at anyone like Peter Vi from Ha'apai. Yet it was Peter Vi, who had been Taufa'ahau's emissary in negotiating with Finau, who accompanied Taufa'ahau to Vava'u in April 1831. It was Peter who preached the sermon in the first public Christian service in Vava'u, before Finau, Taufa'ahau, and their entourage.

On the Monday following that initial act of Christian worship, Finau and Taufa'ahau set about their attack on the old religion in Vava'u. Finau never did anything by halves. Placing seven of the principal gods in line, he warned each in these terms: "I have brought you here to prove you. . . . If you are a god, run away, or you shall be burned in the fire which I have prepared." When nothing happened Finau ordered the gods and their houses to be destroyed. Altogether eighteen idol-houses were burnt down. This took three days, and in the prevailing damp weather the smoke hung low over the island, to the dismay of the people who feared that this portended reprisals from the outraged deities. Taufa'ahau lent willing assistance to the exposure of the falsity of the old gods. In the village of Makave he stripped mats and native cloth from a "god", revealing a shell inside; some onlookers laughed and all, it is said, were ashamed.(25)

It was only after this assault by Tongan converts upon the old religion that any European missionary visited Vava'u. John Thomas paid several visits from Ha'apai; on one of these he preached eighteen sermons in nine days. William Cross came in June 1831 and found 1,000 people willing to accept Christianity. In July 1831 two teachers, one from Ha'apai named David Fale, and Paul, a Vava'u man who had been instructed in Ha'apai, were appointed to Vava'u pending the arrival of a resident missionary.(26) They took sheets of hymns and portions of Scripture printed at Nuku'alofa. (Another source gives Jeremiah Kamoto as the name of the second teacher.(27))

The acceptance of Christianity in Vava'u, even under Finau's powerful patronage, was not unquestioned. His half-brother, Lualala, who had been in Fiji for some time and who was politically opposed to Finau, led a party of defiant non-Christians. They built a fort at Otea on Kapa, one of the outlying islands of Vava'u. The forces of Finau and Taufa'ahau besieged the fort. When the brief contest ended the Ha'apai chief restrained Finau from killing any of the defenders. "George would not hear of any being put to death because Christianity teaches us to love our enemies." (28) This act of clemency to Lualala and his followers surprised everyone; but Taufa'ahau and Peter Vi insisted that it was the true Christian attitude. Lualala was expelled from Vava'u and told to return to Fiji, but he went to Tongatapu and attached himself to the Ha'a Havea chiefs, the opponents of Aleamotu'a Tupou. Lualala settled in the fort of Ngele'ia, near Ma'ofanga. Thomas said that Taufa'ahau's destruction of the gods in Ha'apai and Vava'u made the chiefs in Tongatapu fear that he would do the same there but, Thomas wrote, "He does not wish to go to war with the Tongatapu people".(29)

William Cross, then stationed in Tongatapu, was appointed to Vava'u at the beginning of 1832. In January he set sail with his wife in a large canoe lent

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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Turner, a revivalist preacher, always tended towards emotionalism. Though he in particular welcomed the movement he was not alone in his opinions. The scholarly David Cargill, newly arrived in Vava'u, and Charles Tucker in Ha'apai, viewed the spiritual avalanche in the same way as Turner. Cargill's statements are illuminating —

> "In the church at Neiafu several hundreds of people simultaneously cried aloud for pardoning mercy. . . . Taufa'ahau seemed utterly confounded, and was seen at one time kneeling, and at another standing and surveying the congregation, and apparently irresolute how to behave. . . . Nearly 400 people were on their knees." (41)

The queen swooned and had to be carried out by the king and others. In the middle of that night the king sent a message to Peter Turner telling him that, while he and the queen were praying together in their bedroom, they felt the Spirit of God in such a manner that they experienced "an overwhelming sense of their guilt and misery in the sight of God, and they were unable to sleep". The missionaries and leading church-members had been praying for Taufa'ahau since his lapse into polygamy in the previous year. His conversion took place at a prayer-meeting on 31 July. Cargill reported,

> "The king fell on his knees on a mat in his pew, trembling and literally roaring. . . . Being at length enabled to exercise faith in the merits of the Redeemer, he exultingly exclaimed, 'The Lord has pardoned my sins'." (42)

This statement greatly affected the missionaries, the teachers, and the congregation of about 500. Since then, Cargill added, the king was "a humble, devoted man of God". He was admitted to the office of local preacher on 9 October 1834 and preached his first sermon at Makave on 17 October. "Many wept for joy" when they heard Taufa'ahau preach for the first time. When a new chapel was opened at Neiafu on 10 August 1836, the king preached in an English suit of clothes (the missionary, Stephen Rabone, reported). His text was the same as at the opening of the chapel at Lifuka in 1835 — Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple in Jerusalem.

One of the many hundreds converted in the 1834 revival was the former Borabora teacher, Taute, who was baptized Matthew, and became pastor-teacher at the village of Makave.

Meanwhile the "holy epidemic" quickly spread to Ha'apai. In a few days 2,000 there professed conversion. Tucker reported that he had to close the first revival service when daylight faded and that there were hundreds waiting for the resumption of worship at dawn when "some hundreds were obliged to remain in the chapel-yard" outside a crowded church. As many as five services were held in one day, 19 September.(43)

In Tongatapu the situation was different. Whereas no heathen were left in Vava'u and Ha'apai they were in the majority in Tongatapu. Notwithstanding this, the revival affected Tongatapu, though to a lesser extent than the northern islands. There was fierce opposition to Christianity, especially from "Mu'a, seat of the devil's government", as John Thomas termed it.(44) During the time of the revival in Tongatapu four chapels were burnt down by the non-Christian party, gardens were plundered, and many Christians were obliged to assemble in Nuku'alofa as a city of refuge. The District Meeting of the missionaries had to be postponed because of the hostility.

What should be said of this "Pentecost"? It came like refreshing showers to the missionaries who even wondered whether the world outside Tonga was

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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Chapter VIII.

THE 1835-40 CIVIL WARS — OR WARS OF RELIGION?

The intermittent wars in Tongatapu from 1835 to 1840 brought criticisms against the missionaries and Taufa'ahau. There were tragic events during these years, and some of the criticisms had justification while others were wild and unfounded.

Some writers, both contemporary and later, over-simplified the position in regarding the causes of the conflict as either only political or only religious. Basil Thomson (in 1893) gave a one-sided view of the 1835-40 struggle:

> "It was a missionary war — a crusade in which the club and the Bible were linked against the powers of darkness." [1]

Latukefu dismisses Thomson's allegation as an over-simplification and emphasizes that the wars throughout the years were a continuation of the rebellion that had commenced forty years before, the civil war in which the Ha'a Havea chiefs of Tongatapu opposed one Tu'i Kanokupolu after another.(2) As rebels against lawful authority they also opposed the religion which the king had accepted (after 1829); they believed that Christianity would threaten their customs and erode their chiefly power.

The most violent attack upon both missionaries and Taufa'ahau came from Chevalier Dillon in 1838. He denounced John Thomas for inciting Taufa'ahau "by whose means and bloody assistance you undertook to propagate the mild doctrines of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ".(3)

Commodore Wilkes, leader of the U.S. Exploring Expedition in 1840, blamed the missionaries for regarding the war as an opportunity for converting the heathen.(4)

Against this there was the opinion of Captain Erskine, H.M.S. *Havannah*, in 1849, when there was still open opposition to the king's authority. He declared,

> "The objections of the strong heathen party in Tongatapu to join the rest of their countrymen arise more from a political than a religious feeling." (5)

Throughout these years Tongatapu was still largely both non-Christian and in rebellion against Aleamotu'a Tupou, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. His authority was only nominal, except in the Christian districts. Each outbreak of fighting began with the rebels. When Aleamotu'a was attacked he sent for help from George Taufa'ahau in the north.

The missionaries hoped that there would be no war but, when it broke out, they looked upon it as a struggle between light and darkness, with Taufa'ahau championing the cause of "Jehovah of Hosts" and the "deluded" rebels serving the cause of the devil. Thomas could not have foreseen the tragedies that would occur at the sacking of the forts at Ngele'ia and Hule in January 1837, but he sometimes made unfortunate use of the Old Testament narratives of Israel's wars against idolatrous neighbouring nations; and these must have had an effect upon

[1] /see 14: Thomson, this file -- Analyst/

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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by the District Meeting to Sydney for one year's experience, especially in English. Moulton, writing to Chapman, on 3 May 1877, on the eve of his departure, said:

> "If left to itself the College would stand and prosper under the headmastership of David. Alas, that *IF*!" (55) (56)

There seems truth in Baker's charge that Moulton was forming a College party within the Church.(57) Moulton was in fact creating an intellectual elite. This was dangerous in a country where families quarrelled so readily; there now arose an elitist quarrel which could, and did, lead finally to a religious division which split Tonga asunder. This was in addition to the ambition, jealousy and factiousness within the Mission staff. The evidence points to an element of defiance on Moulton's part which a man less bellicose than Baker would not readily overlook.

Footnotes:

(1) W.P.H.C. Inward Correspondence, general, No. 287 of 1891; Scarr, D., *Fragments of Empire*, p.4.
(2) *M.N.*, 1854, p.754.
(3) Pritchard, W. T., *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p.233; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.143.
(4) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1863. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(5) Pritchard, ibid, p.289; Derrick, ibid, p.151.
(6) Davis to Eggleston, 10 June 1862. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(7) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Item 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(8) Thomas, ibid. Item 46.
(9) I am indebted to the Rev. E. W. Hames, Auckland, for the correspondence between Lawry and the Secretaries in London; see also Hames, E. W., *Walter Lawry and the Wesleyan Mission in the South Seas*, pp.35-6.
(10) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(11) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 1849. B.668. M.L.S.
(12) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 22 July 1847. Set 47. M.O.M.C.
(13) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(14) Thomas, ibid.
(15) Thomas, ibid, 19 November 1849.
(16) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(17) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 46.
(18) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 46.
(19) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 45.
(20) Thomas, ibid, May 1877. M.L.S.
(21) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(22) "Free Church" was the popular name for the Church set up in 1885 with the official title, "The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga". In this history the short name, "Free Church", is used in references to it before 1924. The full legal name is used after re-union in 1924.
(23) Thomson, Basil, *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, p.222.
(24) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, pp.135-47, for advice given by Charles St. Julian.
(25) Davis to Chapman. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(26) Eggleston, J., *Journal*. September 1862.
(27) Firth, F. to Eggleston, 21 February and 24 March 1862. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(28) Thomas, *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(29) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(30) Davis to Eggleston, 27 April 1863. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(31) Eggleston to Davis. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(32) Eggleston to Davis. Item 33. M.O.M.C.
(33) Eggleston to Davis, 7 July 1863.
(34) Adams to Rabone, 16 June 1863. Uncat. set 197. Item 2. M.O.M.C.
(35) Whewell to Eggleston. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(36) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1862. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(37) *Reports*. F.W.C.
(38) Amos to Eggleston, 27 February 1857. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.; *M.N.*, 1857.
(39) Adams to Eggleston, 8 February 1859. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.
(40) Baker to Eggleston. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1926 - 1975]

unemployment and an increase in crime have followed. In the two years, from 1966 to 1968, there was an increase of 46% in juvenile crime. It was estimated in 1968 that there would be 11,000 youths leaving school in the following ten years, with only 1,400 jobs available for them in Government, commerce and industry — and no gardening land for a large proportion of them.

In 1975 it is estimated that about one-half of the taxpayers have no land in spite of their legal entitlement. Because of the social and economic consequences of this disturbing situation the Methodist General Conference in Sydney in May 1975 expressed its sympathetic concern to the people of Tonga.

Migration to New Zealand, California, Hawaii, and elsewhere, has grown considerably but has done little to mitigate the population problem. Many of the large number of Tongans educated overseas return to find a social and cultural gap as well as difficulty in gaining suitable employment. Tourism has given limited relief, in the sale of artifacts as well as fruit and vegetables. Against this are ill-effects arising from contact with the undesirable types of tourists.

Faced with economic conditions which affect the people's moral and religious well-being, the Church has had to re-assess its own situation and its impact on the community. It has failed to increase in proportion to the growth of population. In 1926 the Free Wesleyan Church was 59%, in 1956 49.75%, in 1966 49.85%. The Mormons who were 2.3% in 1931 were 7.15% in 1966. In 1966 the Roman Catholics were 15.9%, the Free Church 14.3%, Church of Tonga 8.9%, Seventh Day Adventists 1.08%. New sects, including Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Baha'i, have entered the country.

The Free Wesleyan Church finds some satisfaction in the quality of its ministry and in the development of its organization. In 1970 it had 13 ministers with L.Th. diplomas, three with Diplomas in Religious Education (Melbourne College of Divinity), one Bachelor of Arts, two Bachelors of Divinity, one Doctor of Divinity. The Pacific Theological College in Suva, for advanced theological education, is supported by the Free Wesleyan Church and other Churches in many Pacific Islands groups. Greater attention has been given to improved organization and literature for Sunday Schools and youth groups. The Friendly Islands Bookshop was established in 1973 through the initiative of the Connexional Secretary, John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D., to provide more material in English and Tongan for a people increasingly capable of benefiting from good literature.

At the local level religion still plays a major part in the Tongans' family and community life. The teachings and methods of the early missionaries have been continued, with the opportunities these have provided for singing, extemporaneous prayer and testimony in the services and "class meetings" that suit the Tongans' temperament. New forms, especially for young people, such as the Christian Endeavour Society, have been added. The three Churches which have sprung from the Wesleyan stock have generally followed the same pattern. What is distressing is the spectacle of division in even small villages. Two, and sometimes three, congregations worship simultaneously and not far apart from each other, using similar hymns and forms of worship, proclaiming the same doctrines, observing the same procedures — early Sunday morning prayer-meeting, two Sunday services, Sunday School, mid-week service, mid-week prayer meetings, "class meetings" for members, and the ever-popular choir practices. In many villages in recent years the rivalry has been worsened by the presence of other denominations also, with a total of five, six or more in some villages.

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
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cultural context of population characteristics. The difference is that in one case the demographer is invited onto anthropological territory, and in the other case the anthropologist speaks the demographer's language.

Enumerating the Population of Motulahi

Rather than continuing to discuss household surveys in the abstract, I shall use my own data from the Kingdom of Tonga as an example. These materials were collected in the course of an anthropological investigation of local organization in Tonga (conducted over a ten-month period in 1969—70).

The Tonga Islands lie just west of the International Dateline in the South Pacific Ocean, east of Fiji and south of Samoa. There are about 150 named islands, but most of them are little more than elevated reefs and have no potential for cultivation or settlement. Thirty-six islands were inhabited at the time of the last reported census, held in 1966 (Fiefia 1968, Rogers 1969). These inhabited islands comprise 238.81 square miles, almost 90 % of the land area of Tonga. At the census of 1966 the population was 77,429, of whom 98.31 % were classified as Tongan (in contrast to others such as Europeans, part-Europeans, and other Pacific Islanders). The majority of the population lives in villages that are dotted throughout the islands in a nuclear pattern of village settlements. Most of the people who live in the rural areas and many of those who live in the towns are wholly or partially dependent for their livelihoods on peasant agriculture.

My research was based in the village of Motulahi, one of the largest villages on Tongatapu, the main island of Tonga. It might be asked whether Motulahi is a typical village. However, the nation of a typical village has no application to Tonga, for there is considerable diversity among Tongan villages with respect to a number of important variables. For example, there are significant differences between isolated village-islands on the one hand and villages on the relatively large island of Tongatapu on the other, or between a village on Tongatapu less than a mile from the capital town and another at the far end of Tongatapu. Villages in Tonga also differ considerably with respect to size of population, from less than one hundred people to more than one thousand, and the dimension of size cuts across the dimension of location. There

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184 are also differences among villages with respect to ecological setting, population density, and a number of social, political, and economic factors. Motulahi is particularly unlike most other villages in that there 162 is a very large number of people in the village. According to the census 361 of 1966, Motulahi's population numbered 1122, making it one of only 621 eight villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of more than one thousand people. At the same time, half of all the villages in Tonga had a population under three hundred. However, the population of all these small villages accounted for less than one fifth of the total population of Tonga, and only one quarter of all the people living in villages.

125 Before proceeding to examine the population of Motulahi, something should be said about the difficulty of making a statement about who the people of any village in Tonga *are*. My household survey was conducted intermittently, beginning early in January 1970 and continuing [484] at intervals until about the middle of May. By the end of that period, [166] some of the people who were enumerated earlier in the survey were no longer living in Motulahi or were still in the village but living in some other household, while others came to live in Motulahi only after I had 121 already surveyed the household in which they lived. Demographers commonly deal with these fluctuations by arbitrarily fixing on a particular date and enumerating the population present at that date. This suits their purpose of enumeration, but it is an intolerably arbitrary solution of the problem of ethnographic description (Carroll 1975a, Colson 1967). My lack of concern at that time for the demographic significance of the data I was collecting is revealed by the fact that I did not take the simple step of making an enumeration of the population present on one day. Instead, what I did was try to keep track of the people whose existence I was aware of, noting changes in household composition and migration in and out of the village. It was in considering how to deal with these data that I came to realize that population flux is not a difficulty that gets in the way of perceiving the demographic characteristics of the village but, instead, is a vital element of proper description of local organization in Tonga (Decktor Korn 1975). Again, since I gave no thought to the compilation of statistics on migration, I made no effort to ascertain exactly when these residential changes took place. What I wanted to determine was the reasons and circumstances that caused people to make their moves.

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177 18 (461) work which in any way smacks of coercion. They work for others in order to be of help, out of friendship and love, or also, of course, to earn a desired wage, but only if they "happen to feel like it." In essence, the Tongan's self-assurance has by no means been touched though we must admit that he is full of deeply felt admiration, full of respect for the mind and education of Europeans and their way of life (even though he knows little about it). Many of the young 177 18 829 intellectuals seriously try to understand and learn more about European ways. Yet in their way of life, their conversations among themselves, and their demeanor toward Europeans the Tongans of all levels show no depression or inferiority complexes. Rather, they are free, open, proud and self-assured in their manner, with an admixture of genuine, cheerful humor which, for example, always makes them ready /17/ to scoff and to laugh at presumed or genuine weaknesses of whites. Many an individual, despite due recognition of the superior knowledge and greater capability of Europeans, does not see in them a shining, pure ideal, but observes them keenly, and is ready for carefully considered criticism if whites, instead of conducting themselves in accordance with the admiration and esteem accorded them by the Tongans, set "bad examples" (i.e. drunkenness, undignified behavior toward Tongan girls, "worldly" behavior). (1)

● (184)

1. In the conduct of the natives toward Europeans there is, of course, a difference between the small, remote islands which are seldom visited by whites and seaports like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. On the small islands the Tongans seem at first more reserved, some occasionally even shy, and English-speaking ones are afraid to talk to a stranger in English, whereas in the seaports the conduct of the Tongans seem freer and more self-assured as a result of frequent dealings with whites. However, the basic conduct may be said to be generally the same, particularly since, among the natives of

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the small islands, the strict observance of reserve imposed by the old customs must be taken into consideration.

The "assured imperturbability" (2)

2. G. Forster in: Geschichte der See-Reisen und Entdeckungen im Südmeer /History of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas/. vol. V. Berlin 1780, p. 146.

unchanged since ancient times, and the great self-assurance (3)

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3. For example, Annales de la Propagation de la foi /Annals of the spread of the faith/. vol. XVIII. Lyon 1845. p. 440.

of the Tongans seem all the more remarkable since these native farmers in their villages do not see their European counterpart, but only the city white man who, as a generally more clever person, intelligent and tougher, and usually with enough money, finds his way to the islands. Thus the Tongans know little of the unhappy European who has failed in his professional and economic life; in general they know nothing about the ragged and hungry human beings of the European slums. Rather, they see largely a selection of intelligent and capable urban Europeans and from these they automatically generalize about Europeans. A Tongan who thus never compares himself with the European farmer in non-industrial areas, knows anything about the extensive specialization in the West. The natives living on the small islands, most of whom today are still able themselves to fulfill all the tasks more or less easily that come up in their communities, from planting and fishing to house building, believe that the European can easily fabricate a ship or a plane, a bicycle or a flashlight. These Tongans regard the European as much more capable and superior than he actually is, and yet they have retained their old self-assurance.

Various reasons may account for that. Above all the considerable

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434 brought him a profit of £T 75 (about 700 German marks).

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594 In the villages of the small Tonga Islands almost every group having a meal together will invite one or more passersby to eat with them; the guest is given the best, and at the larger festivals which, since the "democratization," have moved more within the commoners' realm (private persons, kautaha or cooperative labor pools, and churches as organizers), they usually do not economize in expenses.

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177 European influence has been able to change but little their general good nature and hospitality, especially since life in the villages has remained easy and carefree. Yet the influx of money is

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179 to be observed. On the small islands there are relatively few natives who /20/ hand over to their fellow villagers the products of

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437 their plantations and other goods for money, (11)

11. Often they exchange value for value, for example a length of tapa for a pig. However, giving without direct quid pro quo, this old system of Tongan community life (a perpetual assurance of reciprocity) is still, on an island like Nomuka, more frequent than barter; it is practiced mostly in the Ha'apai group, less in Tongatapu and Vava'u, and seems rather suppressed in places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

and they are generally felt to be outsiders in the community. In places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, on the other hand, there are many of them and there, in the gradually urbanized settlements with European commercial enterprises, selling is taken for granted among the Tongans.

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435 Yet business acumen is little developed among these natives. (12)

12. For example, Tongans who help the "medicine dispenser" on the plantations of Nomuka would rather accept a packet of tobacco than a seven shillings wage per day, though in the shops of the same island they have no

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sexual explicitness. (14)

14. Cf. even J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 177. Lighthearted--and [capable of being] untroubled--that is the impression the observer has to this day, of the majority of Tongans.

/21/ Courtesy within the village community /15/

15. See also Farmer, loc. cit. p. 150.

on the smaller islands has scarcely diminished. In a place like Nuku'alofa, however, because of the larger number of people (about 5000 inhabitants) and the gradual urbanization (motor traffic, shops, etc.) a certain measure of estrangement has taken place, though any Tongan inhabitant can come uninvited to any other for a meal. Here one may notice that in general only the old people greet a European passing by. A certain relaxation of good manners, especially among the young Tongans in the major towns, is largely attributed to the influence of the foreign troops stationed on Tongatapu during the last war, (16)

16. The negative influence of foreign troops through money surplus, in part bad personal examples and incitement to acts which were unknown to the Tongans or seemed morally intolerable (selling and usury where formerly one gave and made presents, theft, i.e. procuring something in devious ways, drinking and methods of producing alcohol, prostitution).

particularly the presently rather frequent theft. (17)

17. At the time of foreign troops you could often get many things effortlessly; some Tongans with "freer" attitudes thus tend to obtain, likewise "effortlessly," desired articles where a purchase or at least a request is customary.

However, such property offences have by no means become widespread even in a seaport like Nuku'alofa (18)

18. The only rooming house in Nuku'alofa has unlocked rooms and closets!

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303 sinamoni (Cinnamomum--?) and pasiole (Pogostemon nepetoides) are pounded between two stones and mixes with oil (made from pressed, grated coconut meat). This intermediate product is then kept for a night in a bowl in the house and the next day it is placed in the sun. The substance is kneaded and pressed over a metal sheet and the now fragrant oil runs from the slightly tilted metal sheet into an enamel bowl placed to receive it. Plant remnants carried along are afterwards fished out of the oil in the bowl with a piece of tapa. Then the bowl is left standing in the sun so that the water still present in the oil can evaporate; finally the lolo Tonga is poured into glass bottles which are closed with tapa stoppers. The oil is [462] now ready for use. Production is entirely women's work.

303 415 179 This lolo Tonga and its method of production are basically an ancient Tongan cultural asset. The European elements such as glass bottle, enamel bowl and sheet metal are convenient substitutes for Tongan mechanical aids that were once laboriously produced (for [139] instance, calabashes). The natives also like to use the leaves of various plants imported by Europeans; the last two aforementioned shrubs, for instance, are not indigenous to Tonga.

303 184 The recipe mentioned above was obtained on Nomuka. Though the procedure remains the same, the ingredients of fragrant leaves, blossoms, fruits and roots vary, and most women probably have their own "secret recipe." Thus one woman in Pangai/Lifuka uses, besides coconut oil and the Aleurites fruit, langakali blossoms (Aglaia samoensis), mohokoi blossoms (Cananga odorata [Lam.] Hook f. and Thomson), heilala fruit, pipi fruit and pako roots, while another in the same village adds to these ingredients siale (Gardenia taitensis D.C.), tevunga, pasiole, sipaisi and kilimau. (105)

[643] 105. In the past, great chiefs also liked to use an oil that was enriched with sandelwood

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(643)

instead of the blossoms and leaves mentioned (cf. J. Martin, loc. cit. p. 346.

302 The lolo Tonga is used day after day by men, women and children for the body and for the hair (especially after washing). There are few Tongans who reject the native oil because it "soils" the clothing (white shirts, for instance). Undoubtedly this oil has a beneficial effect on the skin, and it helps the natives very much to keep their thick, mostly curly or wavy hair in order.

Hair Style

[177] Hair styles have changed as a result of European influences. Only a few aged men in the Archipelago wear the hair style that is commonly regarded as that of ancient Tonga: their hair is cut short at the sides, but not on top where it is combed back. The male population today wears a truly short haircut that can be /47/ arranged in two principal ways. In one case, they cut the hair short at the temples and at the back of the head, and take away enough of the top length so that when the hair is combed back it is loose (that is, wavy or curly). This hair style is worn by the younger natives, in their twenties or thirties. In the second instance, they cut the hair short at the temples and the back of the head, and cut the top part rather short, so that when it is combed back it makes a sort of "crew cut." This haircut worn chiefly by older men is said by [177] various Tongans to have been copied some time ago from ("civilized") natives of Niue. (106)

106. However, even G. Forster already mentions, for 'Eua, short-cut hair that stands up "like bristles" (G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325).

(565) Other ancient hair styles, as for example malu malu, the hair hanging
(184) down over the forehead, a style worn by renowned warriors, (107)

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107. E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/ loc. cit. p. 205.

[565] [184] are no longer seen, and even the nobles do not differ from the common people in their hair style.

[177] People cut each other's hair using a comb (European plastic comb) and scissors. Many natives, without special training, are so adept at this that they achieve a perfect cut even outdoors in a stiff breeze. (108)

108. There are even Tongans who cut their own hair in front of a mirror!

[237] [178] The old Tongan custom of treating the hair with coral lime (lahe) (109)

109. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 279; burnt coral lime mixed with water.

was still generally practiced at the end of the last century, (110)

[113] 110. For example, B.F.S. Baden-Powell, In savage isles and settled lands /cited in English/. London 1892. p. 319.

but has become so "unfashionable" today that one seldom meets an aged native who limes his hair. Instead, Tongan oil is commonly used, [177] occasionally also European pomade.

302 178 As in olden times, young people's hair is cut shorter than that of adults; often, as a matter of expediency, it is entirely cut off. However, "shaving" the head, (111)

[113] 111. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 181; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 282; O.W. Brierly, "Brief geographical sketch of the Friendly Islands" /cited in English/, in: The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. vol. XXII. London 1852. p. 102.

or letting individual tufts of hair stand, (112)

112. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325.

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118. The vala reached to the ankles in the case of persons of higher rank; it was secured with a tapa or fiber belt and the upper part fell in folds over this belt, so that in cold or damp weather it could be slung over the shoulders. Cook quotes the average size of the vala as being "six feet wide and at least eight and a half feet long" (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280) whereas Mariner says: "about eight feet by five or six"/cited in English/. (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 346).

Along with this garment, or instead of it, mats of various quality and size (119)

119. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 327; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative.../cited in English/. loc, cit. I. p. 94.

were worn, depending on the rank of the persons in question.

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Today most men, commoners as well as nobles, wear a vala of European material (in all kinds of colors and patterns, but preferably black for work, and white for Sundays, festivals, etc.), which is approximately the size of the old Tongan vala made of tapa; it is simply wrappped around the waist and is held in place by itself or by means of a belt of leather or synthetic material. Underneath this vala the men often do wear European shorts. On the upper part of the body, which in former times was almost always naked among all classes, they wear a shirt of European cut (a sport shirt, more often with long sleeves rather than with short ones), sometimes also merely a jersey. (120)

120. The vala encircles the shirt below the hips.

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Shirts are bought readymade in various colors, or else women buy only the material and sew them themselves on small hand sewing machines common in Tonga, or even on the console type Singer machines, (121)

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292 [565] Commoners wear the ta'o-vala when they appear before chiefs, just as the latter don their ta'o-vala when they have dealings with the people. Even the most "modern" Tongan who wears trousers as a [178] matter of principle, changes into a vala and ta'o-vala for a fono, for instance. With the ta'o-vala he shows his respect toward authorities, (125)

[113] 125. This ancient custom is already noted in: Geschichte der christlichen Missionen auf den Freundschafts- oder Tonga-Inseln /History of the Christian missions on the Friendly or Tonga Islands/. Bremen. Cincinnati, Ohio. 1857. p. 173.

and it is commonly considered bad taste to wear the ta'o-vala over 292 trousers. Crown Prince and Premier Tungi, who studied in Australia 177 and visited London, sets a good example by wearing the vala and ta'o-vala day after day, and recommends this attire to all administrative employees. Some Tongans "who take pride in their appearance" --in the seaports as well as on the small islands--wear a tie and a European lounge jacket for church on Sunday, along with the customary attire (shirt, vala, ta'o-vala).

291 In contrast to olden times, therefore, nobles as well as commoners 292 wear the same type of clothing. The elegant and valuable mats have 184 even come down to the domain of the people, since many commoners use 565 them as ta'o-vala. Some of the commoners own more and better clothing than the nobles living on the same islands. (126)

[434] 126. For example, the nopele ("highest ranking chief" see p. 95 of text. FS) T. told the author that he could no longer keep step with this development, and that he owns only a few shirts (T. lives on rather small rents from his landed property and on /the yield from/ his plantings, whereas some Tongan of the younger generation are engaged in copra production and, as commoners, are economically the stronger ones).

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291 177 The Tongan women who once wrapped their tapa vala around their waists directly below the breasts and let it hang down to their ankles, (132)

[565] (184) 132. Apparently nobles as well as commoners; the former probably with a tapa piece of larger dimensions.

and in addition wore a narrow mat around their waists, (133)

133. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 326/327; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 347.

have, in the course of missionization, become accustomed to clothing [178] the upper part of their bodies. However, the voluminous, sacklike mission garments still customary in 1910, often with lace trimmings at neck and sleeves, and with a vala cloth that was slung over or under this and reached almost to the ground, have today changed to the extent that they are shorter and more fitted. Most Tongan women have already become accustomed to European underwear (including brassieres). Mail- [294] order catalogs from firms in Australia or New Zealand, magazines, newspapers, films and the few white women themselves--besides the shops in the seaports--give the female natives of the entire Archipelago enough incentive always to sew their own "modern" creations. Some young Tongan women no longer wear the vala, /54/ justifying this, not always honestly, by saying that it is "too warm" for them; they prefer clothes that in shape, length and decollete are very close to 291 177 European models. As in hair styles, feminine vanity and the imitative impulse quickly forget the old and the traditional. Yet the vala (134) 178

134. Either underneath of on top of the dress, as preferred.

is still part of the dress of the majority of Tongan women (that is, all older women and the majority of younger ones). (135)

135. On a workday, for example, in 'Uiha/'Uiha (a typical village of the Ha'apai group), of the 63 women counted, 54 of them (30

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older ones and 25 younger ones) wore a vala, whereas nine (one older and eight younger ones) dispensed with it. A similar count in the small village of Fungamisi, which borders on the urban seaport of Neiafu/Vava'u, showed 20 Tongan women (eleven older and nine younger ones) with the vala and five (two older and three younger ones) without it.

In compliance with the wishes of early missionaries, no Tongan woman is now seen in public with naked breasts. Even ten-year-old girls bathe fully dressed. However, in the villages of the small islands young women and girls still work in their huts with naked torsos, and some of the village women's naked breasts thrust through torn undershirts and tattered blouses probably have a more provocative effect on the male inhabitants than did the natural, unclothed female torso of former days. For, the well-meaning puritanical missionaries were unable to go on providing for the constant supply of costly, full covering. Since the Tongan woman scarcely knows how to take care of her clothes--she will actually go into the bush wearing a new silk dress--and cannot keep acquiring new ones, the female everyday clothing on the small islands is often quite untidy. Things are better in the seaports, and the Sunday-best of Tongan women throughout the Archipelago is pretty immaculate. For church, festivals, etc., women wear a ta'o-vala (like the male population) over their dresses; often this is also replaced by the lighter ta'o-vala kie-kie (136)

136. The ta'o-vala kie-kie is a narrow belt plaited of strips of pandanus leaves (lou tofua-like) with a black design, and with pendant strips plaited in the same way. It was "invented" some years ago as the colleges and soon became popular with women, and sometimes also men. See p. 308-310 for how it is made.

and a bast belt, the mana fau,(137)

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142. The former tapa clothing simply wore out and was replaced by new clothing.

the Tongan women have become most adept at sewing. In tailoring and sewing (especially with the help of hand sewing machines) they 296 achieve astonishing skill. In the task of laundering, the Polynesian feeling for cleanliness can fully unfold; often vala, shirts and dresses that have been worn only once disappear in the zinc tubs where, amidst a great expenditure of curd soap, without previous soaking, often only in lukewarm water, they are scrubbed clean on glass and zinc washboards, an abuse which most clothing can withstand for only a limited time. Most Tongan women seem to be on a war path with mending; for all too often the progressive deterioration of their albeit always clean clothing goes on unchecked, and the ragged thing is (tardily) replaced by something new--as was formerly the case with (184) tapa. However, as has been mentioned, there is a difference to be noted between the small islands and the seaports; the clothing in the latter seems better cared for.

291 The European-Christian influence on children's clothing has
199 been less persistent. Referring to ancient Tongans, Mariner said that children up to about two years were unclothed in the house, (143)

(114)

143. J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 347; it is not clear whether this note applied only to the families of chiefs or to commoners as well.

and Dumont d'Urville reported that boys went about naked for a long time, though little girls were apt to be clothed, (144)

144. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

whereas in 1857 the Mission announced that "the youngest Christian child...(wore) white tapa around its hips." (145)

145. Geschichte der christlichen Missionen... /History of Christian Missions/ loc. cit. p. 41.

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165. For example, kofu lou fau knotted of colored hibiscus bast for the laka-laka, ula and tau'olunga dances; kofu lou 'akau, of white tapa (feta 'aki) with mohokoi leaves (Cananga odorata), which are stitched on with hibiscus bast for the laka-laka and ma'ulu'ulu dances; sala sipi-sipi of tapa (feta'aki) dyed with European dye for the laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu tau'olunga dances. Dance shirts are also made of white tapa (feta'aki) studded with shimmering shells or red seed capsules. For dances some /women/ like to adorn themselves with maile leaves (Alyxia species) around neck, waist and wrists.

and the tapa vala trimmed with leaves, worn on similar occasions by women and by the men who may possibly take part. In the kie-kie lou fau, the dance shirts and the dance vala, old and new cultural assets are fused, the Tongan basic material and ancient basic forms being "enriched" with European dyes, imported plants and novel form elements (for example, sleeves, decorations).

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There is no longer a distinction made between nobles and commoners in the realm of adornment.

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In general, it made be said of today's adornment in Tonga that the former varied richness it represented for the native has gone and was in no sense replaced by European cultural assets. The plant adornment, as well as the (partly altered) dance garments are the only important vestiges which, to be sure, are still very much bound up with Tongan life.

/60/ Tattooing

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[198]
[182]

In the art of tattooing there was an even greater change, which we may characterize as degeneration.

In ancient Tonga all men, with the exception of the highest dignitaries, (166)

166. Probably on account of special taboos.

/66 cont./

597 because the family, for example, has no child or no small children or only children of one sex. It also happens that a child may one day like to remain in the house of its playmates and that it begs its parents to give their consent. The rather involuntary adoptive parents often do not object to having the burden of another eater whom they must also clothe, especially if the child is a help in the house.

592 The statements and accounts given above refer in each case to all 184 village inhabitants. These are mostly commoners. However, nobles 565 and commoners who have risen to respected positions (clergymen, administrative officials, teachers, traders) also live in those villages. Their households do not differ much from those of the rest of the commoners. For example, in 1952 the widower Malupo (in 'Uiha), one of the highest ranking chiefs (nopele) on Tonga, lived together with his daughter, his grandson, the latter's wife and their four children on a property that consists of a small wooden living (=sleeping house, a cook hut, a small bath house and a latrine hut. The structure of family and household in the urban seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu is also very similar to that described on the small islands.

178 The old sources naturally do not give us exact data that [175] permit detailed comparisons of present-day Tongan family life with that of pre-European times.

178 We can, however, see that in general no great change has taken 565 place in the family life of commoners. For polygamy was practiced [595] mostly in the upper classes, and in ancient Tonga, as today, lower [594] class families consisted of husband, wife and children (also adopted children). (189)

189. Compare E. W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. p. 15ff.

/78 cont./

585 [602] [252] [593] (up to 20 or 30 if they go by boat) accompany the couple. Meanwhile (or on the following day) the parents (especially the father) of the bridegroom (also sometimes the bride's parents) along with the rest of the relatives make a huge earth oven with large pigs, yams, taro etc.

[602] [565] [184] After the civil marriage the couple, again accompanied by their relatives, go to church. The wedding celebrations of all classes and religious faiths of Tonga are similar; only the church wedding ceremony, of course, differs among the individual denomination.

585 292 The bride is then again escorted to her paternal home in order to dress for the actual wedding celebration which now begins. The bridegroom too goes to his place for this purpose. Their festive garments are more or less elaborate, according to their means. A very well-to-do bride, for example, is wrapped in a finely plaited, soft fihu-mat several meters long, which covers her body from breasts to knees (so that only the brassiere straps are visible). Over this are wrapped several (up to about ten) fine Samoa mats or kie Tonga, so that the bride can move only with her arms held almost horizontally. [302] [301] Her body is lavishly rubbed with Tonga oil; she wears a flower or a ribbon in her hair and perhaps also sisi kakala around her shoulders and waist. The bridegroom is dressed like the bride. Sometimes, in addition, he wears a (silk) shirt. Both of them are barefoot and without a head covering. Such wedding garb is what is aspired to, but not always achieved. Because of little domestic diligence (in part the loss of ancient skills) or a certain "poverty" resulting from special circumstances, there are simpler wedding garments (fewer and coarser mats), which in extreme cases may consist of only one mat and one tapa vala (worn by the girl with her blouse or dress, by the man with his shirt and possibly with the cloth vala). A

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585 292 199 "European wedding," that is to say, one in European wedding dress, (224)

224. Namely: long white dress, veil and shoes for the bride, white suit and shoes for the bridegroom (with a flower in his buttonhole); often with flower girls and an English wedding cake.

is rare, even in the seaports. This type of wedding is arranged either because people want to imitate the example of whites or for the simple reason that they are not in a position to be extravagant with traditional Tongan things (mats), and the European wedding finery is perhaps more easily obtainable; both reasons may also come together.

585 602 The bridegroom with his relatives now fetches his bride and her relatives from her house and leads her to his place. /79/ Close relatives of the bridal couple (especially the respective tu'a-sina [see above]) follow the bridegroom and bride in this procession, carrying the wedding baskets (kato alu; see p. 317), in which lie a European bottle with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga), a head rest (kali) and other personal articles, each on a ta'o-vala (225)

225. See page 308.

585 198 184 This custom is, however, becoming rather infrequent nowadays. In a town like Fungamisi (neighboring village of the seaport Neiafu/Vava'u) a kato uli is no longer seen at any wedding, and in a village like 'Uiha (on the more remote island of 'Uiha) only a few weddings take place with a wedding basket, whereas in Felemea, situated on the same island, one may see the kato alu being used more often, and even Tongans who normally use a European pillow for sleeping, have a headrest carried behind them at their wedding.

585 574 554 At the bridegroom's place a long roofing of plaited coconut palm twigs (also often of corrugated iron) is erected, underneath

/86 cont./

[764] [354] [177] [565] [784] [276] [622] [565] [794] [533] and a deceased commoner is now probably given more lamps then was formerly customary and that was permissible, compared with chiefs. It is forbidden to smoke in the house or to drink kava or eat food. The village chief, the matapule and other villagers drink kava and eat in a neighboring house; they talk about the deceased and his good deeds.

If the deceased was a member of the Wesleyan church (like most Tongans), the choir of the village church come and (usually standing in an adjoining room of the death house) sing hymns until daybreak. This is perhaps a substitute for the old individual mourning songs. (243)

243. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 198.

A few relatives have meanwhile gone into the bush in order to gather sticks (for example, of siale mohe mohe) which they lash with bast from the fau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) to make the traditional latticed bier (fata). A kinsman has arranged with the pastor the time of burial; the date was, for example, proposed by the widow and the rest of the relatives agree. (244)

244. Many burials take place early in the morning; but afternoon is also a preferred time.

The time of burial has arrived. The satin, the handkerchief and the mats are removed from the deceased, the tapa on which he is lying is folded around him and tied with another piece of tapa. The bier is covered with mats (papa and fala paongo) and tapa (ngatu tahina or ngatu'uli). The deceased is laid on this; the satin sheet and handkerchief are again placed over him and everything is shrouded with one (or two) valuable mat(s) and a large piece of tapa (ngatu'uli). [202] Then the church bells are rung and ten or 20 younger relatives (not the sons) carry the bier to the graveyard. (245)

[184] 245. In Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) where the graveyard is more distant and the technical facilities are more progressive, the corpse is driven to the grave on a truck.

/87 cont./

764 kie-kie lou fau (252)
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252. Compare p. 323-324.

or sisi kakala, (253)

253. Compare p. 82-84.

[177] mounted between sticks. Some graves are also decorated with borders of shells or beer /88/ bottles, and in the vicinity of European settlements or at the suggestion of a white pastor, the Tongans have begun using crosses and other European-type grave structures of cement (less often cast iron). The graves of Protestants, Catholics and members of the rest of the faiths in Tonga are the same, except that they have separate graveyards. The graves of chiefs usually differ from the resting places of commoners in size and more elaborate decoration. The graves of the royal family are situated in Nuku'alofa; they are made of concrete and in shape are reminiscent of the large langi, (254)

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[184]
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254. Compare W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 30ff.

the famous grave structures of the old Tu'i Tonga.

764 178 The village graveyards with their more of less disintegrated, largely unornamented mounds of light sand are a development of recent times. In olden times, when most of the people lived scattered on the various islands, commoners buried their dead on their plantations. (255)

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255. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 201.

[533] [179] After arriving at the grave the mourners sing a hymn, the pastor reads from the Bible (for example, Psalm 90), and the deceased is lowered into the pit which is spread with tapa (over the old skulls) of a mat (for example, fala paongo),. Then follows the sermon which includes the life history of the deceased. More hymns are sung. Over the corpse, which is usually covered with an additional mat (fala paongo), the grave is closed with a slab. The "eldest" turns

[533]

/121 cont./

000 423 (161) involved. Moreover, the Tongan population is growing very much; the dearth of land in the Ha'apai Islands will increase, on the other inhabited islands land will become scarce after one or two generations. (311) However, the opening-up of the Archipelago's uninhabited islands, as well as a few land reclamation projects along the broken-up coasts (or in the swamps) of the low islands (for example, Tongatapu), and above all an intensification of agriculture will always be able to provide relief.

423 184 578 Without doubt there is the possibility that a greater difference between rich and poor will develop as a result of the unequal land distribution, and on the small, already overcrowded Ha'apai Islands social tensions might possibly arise. Today, however, nothing of this kind can be observed; the Tongans live their relatively peaceful lives and no one gets excited if he sees his neighbor ending up with greater profits from his copra work because of his large plantation.

423 178 European advisers and critics admit that the present system of land ownership is basically good, given the present state of agriculture. Yet they emphasize that this system is not flexible enough to make room for possible changes (improvements) in cultivation and in increased cattle-raising, which is scarcely possible with 8 ½ acres. Since, for the natives, the present system of planting (241) suffices and they find it most difficult to adopt new food plants, (233) and since they show relatively little understanding for cattle-raising even where there is an opportunity, a change in the system does not, for these reasons, seem very urgent.

423 177 /122/ On the whole, it may be said of land distribution that the ancient Tongan system was altered as a result of Europeanization and the establishment of a Christian, democratic government. However, 423 565 this change occurred more in form than in kind. The present system of land distribution, which seems somewhat strange to us, means a

/126 cont./

69 177 565 69 177 184 565 671 [997] for example by guaranteeing the new rights of commoners. It is astonishing how all classes of the Tonga people accept, and submit to, this administration of justice, without reservation and as a matter of course. Even the inhabitants of the small, remote islands of the Archipelago eagerly avail themselves of the laws and courts if an injustice done them by anyone seems greater than their equanimity and peacefulness can accept. A full appreciation of this judicial system can be explained chiefly by the way it began: under the strong influence of the Wesleyan missionaries, the uncontested authority of the chiefs was transferred to the new government and to the church; the demands and rights of these two institutions were incorporated in the laws to which the government with its law courts was able to give more and more authority. Naturally, the commoners found it all the more easy to accept the new judicial system since it gave them many advantages in comparison with the past. After initial resistance, the chiefs accepted the Christian-democratic laws of this, at first very church-minded state, probably in part because of their religious feelings, and especially because resistance seemed hopeless and would only have worsened their position.

3. THEIR ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Dwelling

a) House and House-Building

342 177 The Tongan dwellings (sleep houses) today present a very non-uniform picture, for the decline of ancient Tongan crafts as a result of European influences brought about a certain crudeness in the old type of houses, and through the importation of European building material as well as the spread of new methods of construction, there arose a diversity of "modern" types.

346 The sources (346)

/127 cont./

342 (113) 348. The illustrations in Tasman's Journal (Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal of his discovery... /cited in English/ Amsterdam 1898; the pictures following the 23rd and 25th January 1643) show houses which do not seem to be storage huts and have (apparently plaited reed) walls which are interrupted only by door openings. These illustrations are in contrast to the data in the rest of the sources (mentioned above).

342 352 [824] The inside of the dwelling was generally one large room. The floor, which was raised about a foot, was beaten hard and covered with dried leaves and grasses on which lay coconut palm leaves. Strong mats plaited of reed and curved semicircularly were set up inside the room to divide it up. The dwellings of commoners (on the plantations) were of the same construction, but most probably smaller and simpler (for example, always covered with coconut palm leaves and without the lowerable mat curtains). Besides the dwellings, there were also rather large meeting houses and guest houses of chiefs, storage houses (with walls that slanted inward toward the floor), cook huts, and boat houses.

342 178 (177) In ancient Tonga, house construction had a certain uniformity, with each house built for a special purpose corresponding in its basic elements to every other one that served the same purpose, whereas today, as a result of the aforementioned changes, there is a diversity of types to be seen. Dwellings may be subdivided chiefly into the ancient Tonga form (long house with rounded, narrow sides) and the types resembling European construction (rectangular or also square houses that often have a veranda). Different kinds of building material result in a number of further variations. These, as well as the proportion of the different types, may be seen in the following survey conducted in six villages of the Archipelago.

/128/ DWELLINGS

	In Havelu'loto (Tongatapu)	In 'O'ua (Ha'apai)	In 'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai)	In Pangai/Lifuka (Ha'apai) (350)	In Fungamisi (Vava'u)	In Tu'anuku (Vava'u)
342 178 184 Ancient Tonga shape:						
Coconut-leaf roof (349) and walls.....(351)	7	16	38	47	9	15
Coconut-leaf roof (349) and reed walls.....	1	1	31	7		
Coconut-leaf roof (349) and wooden walls.....	12	3	3	9	8	1
Coconut-leaf roof (349) and corrugated metal walls	3	3	8	20	10	4
Roof of sugarcane leaves and tin walls (352)...			1			
Shingle roof and wooden walls.....				1		
Corrugated metal roof and coconut-leaf walls...			4	2		
Corrugated metal roof and reed walls.....			8	1		
Corrugated metal roof and wooden walls.....	3	4	6	33		7
Corrugated metal roof and walls.....			11	19		10
342 178 177 184 Rectangular shape:						
Coconut-leaf roof and walls.....	1	5	1	8		2
Coconut-leaf roof and reed walls.....		1		4		
Coconut-leaf roof and wooden walls.....	2			1	1	
Coconut-leaf roof and corrugated metal walls...				1		
Coconut-leaf roof and sheet metal walls (352)..					1	1
Corrugated metal roof & coconut-leaf walls with wire netting.....			1			
"Box type," corrugated metal roof and wooden walls.....	7	1	10	55	8	11

/128 cont./ DWELLINGS (cont'd.)

	In Havelu-loto (Tongatapu)	In 'O'ua (Ha'apai)	In 'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai)	In Pangai/Lifuka (Ha'apai) (350)	In Fungamisi (Vava'u)	In Tu'anuku (Vava'u)
342 178 177 184 Rectangular shape:						
"Box type," corrugated metal roof and walls....	2			7		5
"Veranda type," corrugated metal roof and wooden walls.....	6	2	21	68	17	21
"Veranda type," corrugated metal roof and walls.					1	

[824] 349. A few coconut-leaf roofs have sugarcane leaves mixed in; a roof very seldom consists entirely of sugarcane.

350. Here "dwelling" includes all houses that at present serve as dwellings or could serve as such, but are, for the time being, used for other purposes (for example, to store copra) or happen to stand empty, but could be occupied again at any time.

351. Two of these houses have only one rounded narrow side.

352. Tin from large zwieback containers.

/129/ The unequal distribution of types may be partly explained by the fact that 'O'ua and 'Uiha are more unfavorably situated for procuring European building materials (timber, corrugated sheet metal, and container metal); moreover, individual house types simply became more "fashionable" in some villages than in others. The survey also shows that the rectangular buildings are mainly made of timber and corrugated metal, and the native raw materials are used more for the old style of building. After all, the European shape generally

/129 cont./

342 178 177 184 forms a unit with the European building material. However, the ancient Tongan shape still holds its own, as the following list can show more clearly:

Village	Long houses with rounded narrow sides	Rectangular houses
Haveluloto/Tongatapu	26	18
'O'ua (Ha'apai)	27	9
'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha-apai)	110	33
Pangai/Lifuka (Ha'apai)	139	144
Fungamisi/Vava'u	27	28
Tu'anuku/Vava'u	37	40

The settlements of 'O'ua and 'Uiha which are unfavorably located with respect to transport facilities have a considerably preponderance of of houses of ancient Tongan shape. A further Europeanization of the Archipelago could bring about a similar proportion as in the other four villages. However, this development will be relatively slow; for even in the seaport of Pangai and in the villages of Haveluloto and Fungamisi which are near larger seaports, (353)

353. European-type constructions are, of course, most numerously represented in Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

a great many natives cling to the old house shape--for financial and traditional reasons. The prices for corrugated sheet metal and building timber have risen very much; A Tongan must put aside the considerable sum of approximately 300 - 400 $T . (= approximately 2800 -

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342 177 178 matting and the door which is mostly open during the day, it is always sufficiently light inside. The houses of ancient Tongan design, which have wooden or corrugated metal walls, also generally have three door openings which are provided with doors made of boards. Some of these houses have one or two window openings on the long side, which are closed with wooden shutters.

342 184 565 (177) (243) Today there is no longer a distinct difference between the dwellings of chiefs and those of commoners. Everyone can and will build a house for himself that suits his taste and, above all, his economic circumstances. Quite a few chiefs own rather large European-type houses (some with glazed windows), and the Queen resides in a palace built some decades ago in the style of a European tropical house; /133/ however, many commoners have also built houses for themselves that in size and use of material outdo those of many chiefs.

342 178 184 For the size of dwellings the following figures were obtained in the villages of 'Uiha and Fungamisi:

Houses with ancient Tongan ground plan:

	up to 6.5m. length & 3.2m. width	up to 8.5m. length & 4.2m. width	up to 10.5m. length & 5.2m. width	up to 11.5m. length & 5.7m. width	up to 13.5m. length & 5.8m. width
'Uiha.....	20	46	26	12	6
Fungamisi...	13	12	2	-	-

The average size of a house with "ancient Tongan ground plan" is 8.2 meters long and 3.9 meters wide in 'Uiha, and 6.4 meters long and 3.2 meters wide in Fungamisi. (356)

356. Calculated from the individual measurements.

(177) Houses with rectangular ground plan:

/133 cont./

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	up to 6m. length & 5m. width	up to 8m. length & 5m. width	up to 10m. length & 7.5m. width	up to 11m. length & 9m. width	over 11m. length & 9m. width
'Uiha.....	5	7	10	9	2
Fungamisi.	8	2	7	3	8 (357)

357. Some of these houses belong to half-castes (Tongan mother - European father).

The average size of a rectangular house is 8.2 meters long and 6.2 meters wide in 'Uiha, and 8.9 meters long and 6.6 meters wide in Fungamisi. (358)

358. Calculated from the individual measurements.

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Thus the average size of today's Tongan dwelling (for commoners and chiefs) is smaller than that of the ancient Tongan chief's dwelling, which Cook gives as 30 feet long and 20 feet wide; however, it probably corresponds to the measurements of the ancient Tongan dwellings of commoners and may, in part, exceed them. (359)

359. Especially the "low, very small huts" observed by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung... /Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. 285); these were most probably the lodgings of commoners acting as servants and living on the properties of chiefs.

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(824)
The interior of Tongan dwellings has also changed. In the long houses with rounded narrow sides the house still resembles the ancient Tongan model. The floor is covered with dried coconut-palm leaves and grasses (or now simply with sand) and over this are spread mats (takapau) (360)

360. These are already mentioned by Mariner for ancient Tonga (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

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plaited of young coconut-palm leaves. However, in many cases the

/153 cont./

241 178 461 way he has to walk from the village, he can no longer devote himself to it as intensely as in the 18th century; secondly, many natives seem to have lost their joy in the work of cultivation. This is the [197] outcome of European influences, as a result of which much hand work has apparently become crude or has been lost altogether. The "liberation" of commoners from the domination of chiefs, as well as the realization that one is no longer completely dependent on cultivation, since flour, meat, sugar, etc. can be bought from the storekeeper on all the islands, may likewise have determined the present attitude toward plantation work.

241 [262] [431] The majority of Tongans consume their cultivated products by themselves, within their own families. At a request, or even on their own initiative, they will sometimes give of their yield--especially if there has been a good harvest--to other villagers (not only kinfolk), as in old times. On the small islands they do not, as a rule, sell their produce to fellow-villagers, and in the villages of the larger islands, only occasionally. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai, however, some Tongans sell their tubers, etc. to their countrymen who have no plantings or only small ones (for example, government and business officials); some natives on the larger islands have even started planned cultivation for such purposes (for example, "yam farms"). The handing-over of produce to chiefs, which in ancient Tonga was taken for granted, has been given up almost entirely and has been superseded by the annual payment for the lease of land; a native but only seldom on special occasions, will a native bring the chief of his district a gift of select tubers. The old, larger harvest festival (inasi), the offering of first fruits to the gods, (406)

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406. See E. Gifford, Tongan Society / cited in English/ pp. 76, 345.

/154 cont./

241 433 184 The following examples from a remote village and from a settlement near a seaport may show the proportion of the various products grown (survey taken April/May 1952):

	Of 97 households engaged in agriculture in 'Uiha/ 'Uiha (Ha'apai) the following number plant:	Of 42 households engaged in agriculture in Fungamisi/Vava'u the following number plant:
Yams	92	42
kape	83	42
Sweet potatoes	93	13
Manioc	96	34
Taro	93	41
Bananas	89	42
Sugarcane	46	24
Maize	67	14
Watermelons	58	6
Pumpkins	24	13
Pineapples	--	29
Onions	--	3
Cabbage	3	1
Tomatoes	1	1
Peanuts	4	1

241 262 137 /155/ Among the chief crops (yams, kape, sweet potatoes, manioc, taro and bananas) which, together with the coconut palm and the breadfruit tree, constitute the staple food of the Tongans, only manioc is a plant imported during the European period, while all the rest (including sweet potatoes) were favorite food plants even in ancient Tonga. (409)

409. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 163, 236/237, 283/284; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative.../cited in English/ I. p. 89.

137 244 Manioc is mentioned for the first time in Tonga in 1865 by West (410)

/156 cont./

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177 was replaced chiefly by two tools that have iron blades: The huo spade consists of an oval iron blade, approximately 14 centimeters long, 12 centimeters wide and provided with a socket approximately 17 centimeters long which is stuck onto a strong wooden handle about 1.50 meters long. The natives buy the blade from a shopkeeper and
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[824 make the handle themselves out of toa wood (Casuarina equisetifolia L.); in a way, this tool represents the old digging stick, but is more efficient. (416)

416. Th. West already mentions it in 1865. (Th. West, Ten years...p. 146); a smaller huo spade with an iron handle is seen more seldom.

The huo lafa-lafa is a slightly angular thrusting iron (length approximately 13 centimeters, width approximately 18 centimeters, socket approximately 13 centimeters long) with its socket set on a wooden handle (approximately 1.70 meters long); the natives buy the tool ready-made from a shopkeeper and of course replace the handle themselves if it breaks. The huo lafa-lafa is used chiefly for slashing weeds on the plantations, sometimes also for digging in loose ground. The large machete (417)

417. See p. 203.

is also extensively used on the plantations, to cut down tough weeds, to harvest various crops, etc. /157/ /Illustrations appear here./ /158/ Sometimes a regular European pitchfork is used to loosen the ground (for example, in planting the stalk-cuttings of the sweet potatoe); one seldom sees European spades or shovels. The ancient
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184 Tongan digging stick has survived, in a sense, on the smaller islands where, on the plantations, the natives cut a piece of wood about two meters long, whittle it at the end by one-sided blows with the machete and then use it as a huo langa to break up (loosen) the soil in planting kape (less often taro or yams).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 236]

/168 cont./

231 [136] [177] Only a few Tongans were interested in the cats which Europeans imported.

The following survey may give an idea of the numerical proportion of the individual domestic animals. The data were obtained in April 1952 in 'Uiha/'Uiha, a typical village of the more remote islands, and in May 1952 in Fungamisi/Vava'u, a village adjacent to the rather large seaport of Neiafu:

231 184 422 [126]

/169/'UIHA:

Domestic animals (including young animals)	In possession of all 99 households checked	per household
Pigs	917	0(444) --35
Chickens	1095	0(445) --54
Horses	54	0 -- 3 (446)
Cattle	1	0 -- 1
Goats	31	0 -- 5
Ducks	33	0 --10

FUNGAMISI:

Domestic animals (including young animals)	In possession of all 42 households checked	per household
Pigs	109	0(447) --20
Chickens	547	0(448) --50
Horses	38	0 -- 4 (449)
Cattle	14	0 -- 4
Goats	6	0 -- 3
Ducks	21	0 --10

444. Of the 99 households only three have no pigs.

445. Of the 99 households 13 have no chickens.

446. Only one household has three horses.

447. Nineteen households have no pigs.

448. Nine households have no chickens.

449. Only one household has four horses.

/169 cont./

231 184 According to these figures, pigs and chickens, the domestic animals of ancient Tonga, occur most frequently in 'Uiha and Fungamisi. The difference with respect to the rest of the domestic animals is more striking in 'Uiha than in Fungamisi. In the latter village, its 231 184 432 (245) nearness to the seaport of Neiafu is a factor; the natives probably feel it is more profitable to use their coconuts for copra production (the copra receiving station of the government is not far from the village) than to breed pigs more extensively, especially since the latter can be replaced by corned beef and salted meat which is easily obtainable in Neiafu. The cattle raised in Fungamisi can be profitably sold to merchants in Neiafu.

231 In general, there is no intensive animal husbandry in Tonga, such as the European is accustomed to. Stalls and fenced-in areas are (272) (262) (239) practically unknown. /170/ Milk, eggs and manure are not used. The following survey may give an idea of animal husbandry in Tonga:

Pig:

231 136 This domestic animal of ancient Tonga no longer exists in its original form. Sailors, missionaries, other whites living in Tonga, as well as members of the Tongan government have, in the course of time, brought a number of pigs of various strains to Tonga. This seems to have improved the old Tongan breed of pig which was probably smaller. A clear racial identification is no longer possible because of the various crossbreeds.

231 262 574 Pork is by no means a daily food; the natives usually slaughter the animals only for festivals and other special occasions (for example, a visit of a member of the royal family), just as was customary among commoners in the past. (450)

(113) 450. See W. Waldegrave, Extracts from a private journal.../cited in English/ p. 187.

/173 cont./

226

c) Fishing

Fishing still plays an important role on most of the inhabited islands of the Tonga Archipelago. Many natives engage in it--alongside their planting activity--very skilfully and successfully.

226 184

The following survey may give an insight into the natives' involvement in fishing:

Village	Total number of households	Households that often fish (or gather food in the sea)	Households that seldom fish (or gather food in the sea)	Households that do not engage in fishing
'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai)	100	73	11	16
Fungamisi/ Vava'u	45	20(458)	18	7

458. The reason for the relatively slight interest in fishing here is, on the one hand, that there do not seem to be as many fish in these waters as in those of the Ha'apai group; on the other hand, the proximity of the seaport of Neiafu, where one can easily buy food in the shops, may play a role.

226 Even in ancient Tonga there seem to have been numerous fishing methods. According to the sources, the natives fished mainly with nets of all kinds (459)

459. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 279; Th. West, Ten Years...p. 118 ff.

and also with lines and various hooks; (460)

460. See J. cook, Beschreibung...loc, cit. VI. p. 286; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 279.

they also knew how to spear fish. (461)

461. Th. West, Ten years...p. 121.

[178] [179] Today the Tonga use a great variety of fishing methods, most of which

226 /178 cont./
[222]
[462] (for example, hulali) in the sand of the shore.

Some fishing methods are used far more than others. In this
226 connection the following figures were obtained on days chosen at
184 random in April 1952 ('Uiha) and May 1952 (Fungamisi):

/179/

Fishing method:	Number of times employed:	
	in 80 cases in 'Uiha/'Uiha	in 32 cases in Fungamisi/Vava'u
sengai	30	2
kupenga sili	22	2
tao uku	13	-
'a feke	6	4
ama	3	2
kupenga toho	2	-
taumata'u	2	5
'aukava	1	-
talaki	1	-
kupenga leleaki	-	8
kupenga tapo	-	3
Dynamite	-	2
fakatele	-	4

226 This survey cannot show clearly the frequency of present fishing methods in the Tonga Archipelago, but at least it shows that the natives are still very familiar with the sea and use various methods.
226 Among these apparently only the shooting of fish under water (sengai)
177 and the use of dynamite were introduced in Tonga during the European period; diving with goggles and the use of the sling (sengai) were probably taken over from the Samoans about 15 years ago, and the use of dynamite is probably also of a more recent date. The sengai method has become quite popular on several islands of the Archipelago (especially among the younger natives) and has now and then outstripped the fishing with nets, probably used more often in former times, (462)

462. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 279.

/183 cont./

262 seaweed, crabs), pigs and chickens (481)

481. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 282.

still make up the basic food of the natives of these islands. European influences, however, in the food sector, are of considerable and

262 growing importance. For approximately one hundred years, there has
177 been increasing interest in manioc which was introduced by whites, and for a few decades canned meat and fish, foods prepared with flour, white bread, zwieback and sugar have become very popular supplementary foods among the Tongans of all the islands, while the consumption of salted meat, condensed milk, marmelade, rice, tea, coffee and cocoa has been limited more to the seaports and the villages adjacent to them. Among European foods, canned corned beef is by far in the lead, and is a favorite supplement to meals which, according to our ideas, are very simply prepared and often consist exclusively of carbohydrates.

262 The following tables show 353 everyday meals consumed on certain
128 fixed days in April 1952 in 92 households in the village of 'Uiha, and
184 173 everyday meals consumed on certain fixed days in May 1952 in 37 households in the village of Fungamisi. 'Uiha is a typical village of the smaller islands, while Fungamisi may be cited as an example of a settlement near a seaport.

['Uiha]
[Fungamisi]

/184/

262
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Meal consisting of	Number of meals in		Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	'Uiha	Fungamisi		'Uiha	Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b.(482)	40	28	Breadfruit. b., roast beef	1	1
Breadfruit, st.(482)	29	8			
Breadfruit,r.(482)	1	5	Breadfruit, b., roast beef tea	1	
Breadfruit,r., salted meat		1			
Breadfruit, r., bread, butter, fat, tea, sugar		1	Breadfruit, b., roast beef, bread, butter, marm lade, tea, sugar, milk		1
Breadfruit, b., seaweed	2				
Breadfruit, b., mussels		2	Breadfruit, b., corned beef, bread, butter, tea, sugar		1
Breadfruit, b., fish	21	2			
Breadfruit, b., fish, seaweed	1		Breadfruit, b., salted meat	1	10
Breadfruit, b., seaweed, squid	1		Breadfruit, b., salted meat, vi leaves		1
Breadfruit, b., taro leaves	4				
Breadfruit, b., maize	1		Breadfruit, b., salted meat, taro leaves		1
Breadfruit, b., chicken		1	Breadfruit, b., canned fish		6
Breadfruit, b., pork	3	3	Breadfruit, b., tea		2
Breadfruit, b., corned beef	10	2	Breadfruit, b., coffee	1	
Breadfruit, b., taro leaves corned beef	1		Breadfruit, b., bread, marmalade, tea		2
Breadfruit, b., corned-beef-soup	3	1	Breadfruit, b., bread, butter, marmalade, tea sugar		3

482. The abbreviations signify: b.= boiled in pots; st.= stewed in earth-oven; r.= roasted in the fire.

['Uiha]
[Fungamisi]

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Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi	Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b., mussels, bread, butter, coffee, sugar		1	Breadfruit, b. bread, butter, coffee, sugar, oranges		1
Breadfruit, b., flour porridge	1		Breadfruit, st., pork, fish	2	
Breadfruit, b., flour dumplings	1		Breadfruit, st., pork, bread	1	
Breadfruit, r., coconut oil, sugar ~"pudding"	1	2	Breadfruit, st., corned beef	3	
Breadfruit, st., fish	11	1	Breadfruit, st., corned-beef-soup	3	
Breadfruit, st., fish, zwieback, bread, tea	1		Breadfruit, st., roast beef		2
Breadfruit, st., mussels		1	Breadfruit, st., corned beef, fish	3	1
Breadfruit,st., fish, seaweed	1		Breadfruit, st., canned fish		1
Breadfruit, st., fish, taro leaves	1		Breadfruit, st., corned beef, canned fish	1	1
Breadfruit, st., taro leaves, ifi-fruit	2		Breadfruit, st., corned beef, taro leaves	1	
Breadfruit, st., taro leaves, salted meat		1	Breadfruit, st., salted meat		4
Breadfruit, st., meat of ripe coconuts	3		Breadfruit, st., salted meat, taro leaves		1
Breadfruit, st., Carica papaya	2		Yams, b.	5	5
Breadfruit, st., pork	7		Yams, st.	1	1
			Yams, b., fish	5	
			Yams, b., meat of ripe coconuts	1	
			Yams, b., Chicken	1	1

['Uiha]
[Fungamisi]

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Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi	Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi
Yams, b., corned beef	1		Yams, b., pork	1	3
Yams, b., corned-beef-soup		1	Bananas (siaine), b., fish	1	
Yams, b., roast beef	1		Bananas (siaine), b., tea	1	
Yams, b., salted meat		2	Manioc, b.	4	
Yams, b., salted meat, taro leaves		1	Manioc, b., fish	2	
Yams, b., flour dumplings	1		Manioc, b., pork	1	
Yams, b., coffee	1		Manioc, st., fish, pork	1	
Yams, st., mussels		2	Manioc, b., corned beef	2	
Yams, st., Carica papaya	1		Taro, b.	1	2
Yams, st., chicken	1		Taro, st.	1	
Yams, st., corned beef		1	Taro, b., fish	1	
Bananas (hopa), b.	2		Taro, b., octopus		2
Bananas (pata), b.	1		Taro, b., bread, butter, marmalade, tea, sugar, condensed milk		3
Bananas (siaine), b.	2		Breadfruit, b., yams, b., vai siaine	11	
Bananas (siaine and pata), b.	1		Breadfruit, st., yams, st.		1
Bananas (hopa), b., fish	2		Breadfruit, b., yams, b., seaweed	1	
Bananas (hopa), b., corned beef	1		Breadfruit, b., yams, b., taro leaves	1	
Bananas (hopa), b., fried cakes	1				

['Uiha]
[Fungamisi]

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Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi	Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., fish	7		Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., salted meat	1	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., fish, fried cakes, tea	3		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa)	5	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., corned beef	5		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa), taro leaves	1	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., corned beef, sausage		1	Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa), fish	2	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., salted meat, canned fish		1	Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (pata)	6	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., fish	4		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (pata), fish	2	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., fish squid		1	Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (pata), chicken	1	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., ifi-fruit	1		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (pata), corned beef	1	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., Carica papaya	1		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa, pata)	1	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., chicken	1		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa, pata), fish	1	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st. pork	2		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, st. (siaine)	2	

100: Koch--281 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
['Uiha]
[Fungamisi]

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Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi	Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., corned beef	2		Breadfruit, b., Bananas b. (siaine), taro leaves	1	
/188/ Breadfruit b., Manioc, b.	6		Yams, b., Bananas, b. (hopa), corned beef	1	
Breadfruit, b. Manioc, b., fish	2		Yams, b., Manioc, b.	1	
Breadfruit, st., Manioc, st., pork	3		Yams, b., Manioc, b., fish, mussels	1	
Breadfruit, st., manioc pudding	1		Yams, b. Bananas, b. (pata) Manioc, b.	2	
Breadfruit, st., Taro, st.	2		Yams, b., Bananas, b. (pata), Manioc, b., taro leaves	1	
Breadfruit, st., Taro, st., fish	2		Yams, b., Bananas, b. (hopa), Taro, b.	1	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., Taro, b., salted meat, sausage		1	Yams, b., Manioc, b., taro leaves	2	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., Bananas (pata), b.	1		Yams, st., Manioc, st., Taro, st., taro leaves	1	
Breadfruit, b. Yams, b., Bananas (pata), b., fish	1		Bananas, st. (pata), Manioc, st.	1	
Breadfruit, b., Manioc, b., Taro, b.	1		Bananas, st. (hopa) Taro, st.	1	
Breadfruit, b., Manioc, b., Taro, b., fish	1		Manioc, b., Taro, b.	1	

['Uiha]
[Fungamisi]

/188 cont./

262
252
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184

Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi	Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b., Manioc, b., Taro, b., corned beef	1		Manioc, st., Taro, st.	1	
Yams, b., Bananas (pata) b., fish	2		ifi-fruit, st., flour dumplings	1	
/189/ Rice, b.	1		/189/ Bread, butter, tea, sugar, 'avoka		2
Flour dumplings (topai)	21		Bread, banana cake, butter, tea, sugar		2
Fried cakes (keke), tea	2	1	Bread, butter, marmalade, tea		2
Bread	1		Bread, butter, marmalade, tea, condensed milk, (sugar)		6
Bread, tea (sugar)	1	4	Bread, butter, marmalade, corned beef, tea, condensed milk, sugar		1
Bread, corned beef	1		Bread, butter, cocoa made with water	1	3
Bread, corned beef, tea		1	Bread, butter, coffee	1	
Bread, butter, tea		1	Zwieback, tea	1	
Bread, butter, tea, sugar		13			
Bread, butter, tea, condensed milk, (sugar)		8			
Bread, butter, tea, sugar, Carica papaya		1			

/189 cont./

262 This list shows that 228 out of 353 'Uiha meals consisted
184 exclusively of products that were available even in ancient Tonga, while 69 of the 173 Fungamisi meals were prepared on a purely "ancient Tongan basis." The influence of the seaport of Neiafu on the village of Fungamisi is recognizable; the example of the European and half-caste households there, as well as abundant supplies in the shops of that town clearly influence the standard of living of the neighboring
262 settlement. The proportion of salted meat, corned beef, white bread,
184 butter, tea, etc., is noticeable. The "European ingredients" (483)
177

483. "European ingredients" include all foods that were not available in ancient Tonga, but reached the Archipelago only as a result of European influences and are procured today by planting (for example, manioc, see pp. 231-232, 240-241) or by purchase from shopkeepers (for example, corned beef, roast beef, salted meat, sugar, flour, white bread, zwieback, tea, cocoa, coffee).

(244) (432)

of 'Uiha and Fungamisi meals are usually no more than "supplementary." /190/ Manioc, however, appears as a basic food, and in Fungamisi there are a few families who have already gone over to regular bread
262 meals. The very large proportion of breadfruit is due to the fact
(221) that the months of April/May are the main harvest time for it.

262 Basically, the meals for Sundays, holidays and feasts are the
264 same as everyday meals; they differ only in quantity and in richer ingredients (and sometimes more complicated preparation). As examples
(527) we list 12 Sunday meals in the village of 'Uiha (April 1952) and
(574) four gala meals (faka afe) (484)

484. See p. 142-143.

on Nomuka (December 1951):

/196 cont./ Kava (510)

276
574 510. See p. 144 ff.

is drunk--as always--chiefly at social gatherings, on ceremonial occasions and before gala meals.

264
[198] Most Tongans eat only two meals a day, as in the past. In the morning (between nine and eleven o'clock) they eat a rather large quantity of food, and in the afternoon (between 17 and 19 o'clock) they have a meal almost as large, at which they use any leftovers from the morning meal; the portions consumed by adults seem astonishingly large to Europeans. On Sundays they usually have an earth-oven meal after the second morning service, around 10 or 11 o'clock, /197/ the leftovers from which they often eat in the afternoon as their second meal. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai, however, [177] many families have gone over to the European example of having three [184] meals a day (between 8 - 9, 12 - 13, and 18 - 19 o'clock), the first of which is often a breakfast of white bread. Thus, out of 92 households investigated in the remote village of 'Uiha, 89 have two meals a day and only three have three meals, whereas in Pungamisi, the "suburb" of Neiafu, out of 37 households checked, 22 have two meals and 15 have three meals a day. The great distance of plantations from the [252] villages is, in some instances, the reason why the natives also have "bush meals" (511)

511. Food roasted in embers or stewed in the earth-oven.

at irregular hours if they feel the need for them during their plantation work.

264
412 Though spoons, forks, and knives are nowadays present in most households, the Tongans as a rule still eat with their fingers, as in [516] pre-European times. They sit cross-legged in front of the meals they have been served, tear off, press, or cut off (512)

512. With a machete or table knife instead of

/235 cont./

412 178 197 [237] Though the popao seems unchanged in principle from that of the past, the tools used in building it are quite different from those used in ancient Tonga. The axes with black stone blades, the drills with shark's teeth and fish-skin scrapers (621)

621. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 287.

have long since disappeared, and new equipment is used instead, which represents, in part, a combination of European material and Tongan form, (622)

622. See transverse hatchets, p. 200-202.

in part, purely imported materials of whites.

501 [415] [178] To propel a popao one or two paddles are required. Special bailers (box at the bottom of the boat) with a handle inside are very seldom made any more. The natives usually use rather large coconut shells or empty cans to bail out.

501 184 422 The supply of boats of the popao type is by no means uniform on the individual islands. Investigations made by the author in 1951/52 for instance, showed that in 'Uiha (Ha'apai) only three out of 100 households had popao, whereas the 85 households of Nomuka (Ha'apai) had about 40, and the 45 households of Fugamisi (Vava'u) had 17 boats of this type. There are apparently no particular reasons for this unequal distribution, for the living conditions of the natives of 'Uiha and Nomuka are very similar. The people of the remote village of 'Uiha--in which, according to statements of older Tongans, only a few decades ago almost every household owned a popao--seem to have simply lost the inclination to build these boats, whereas the inhabitants of Fungamisi (the "suburb" of the urbanized harbor settlement of Neiafu) still show a greater interest in this boat, though there is no compelling necessity for it. One may assume, in general, 501 178 that the supply of these simple outriggers--considerable though it

489 /236 cont./
177 distances and poor, unpaved roads, the optimum seems to have been
178 reached at this time.

505 With regard to sea traffic, it is noteworthy that the seafaring
178 Tongans doubtless still possess the nautical sense of their renown
197 ancestors, but in comparison with the past, in general, a certain estrangement from the sea can be seen. Since they depend on the monthly steamer for transportation outside Tonga (and in part also within Tonga), and since, for transportation between the islands of the Archipelago, they use sailboats whose building material
(626)

626. The wood for building these boats must also be imported, since the natives lumber does not seem resistant enough.

must be imported, they have become dependent on Europeans in their
501 traffic on the high seas. Of the ancient Tongan type of boats--with
505 the exception of the now very rare tafa'anga--the simplest type of out-
178 rigger, the popao, has alone been preserved and is used on short trips for various purposes rather frequently.

489 There is no noticeable difference between nobles and commoners
565 with respect to means of transportation. Not origin, but economic
184 potential is decisive for the acquisition of land- and seacraft.
(627)

627. In addition, there is borrowing without direct return service (see p. 136-137.

501 In accordance with the social structure of ancient Tonga, the
422 catamarans of those days were solely in possession of the nobility.
565 Today the /237/ sailboats that have replaced the catamarans belong
178 largely to commoners, and money plays a part in the traffic of these cutters and sloops which transport almost all passengers and goods for money.

/281 cont./

829 177 [186] whites only what seems good to them and are by no means uncritical--insofar as circumstances make criticism possible for them. Faced with the superiority of European materials and the European mind they maintain ease and equanimity.

/282/ To be sure, most Tongans feel that their way of life is poor compared to the high material and intellectual standard of Europeans. [565] But they accept this as a fact and do not seem burdened by it, especially since they are all, nobles as well as commoners, on the same level and actual comparisons with the European way of life are very rare or indeed quite impossible.

829 177 178 The majority of natives are not at all aware of the fact that their culture is no longer pure and aboriginal, but rather a mixed culture which contains much that for the Tongan is actually useless and merely "imitation." There is no resigned looking-back to ancient Tongan culture and history, (760)

[769]

760. The ruins of grave sites (tombstones, "langi") of the ancient Tongan supreme rulers (Tu'i Tonga) at Mu'a/Tongatapu are for the most part overgrown. and in the midst of two old stone monuments on the island of Nomuka/Ha'apai there is even kape planted.

but rather affirmation of the present and anticipation of the future. (761)

761. Only a few chiefs regret the decline of those customs which once stressed their social rank so clearly.

Many natives, however, have the painful feeling that the Tongan can never become "like the European." Very few conclude, on the basis of this, consciously to preserve their ancient Tongan cultural heritage alongside the adopted European /culture/ and to unite it with the latter. The majority of the people, however, do this quite unconsciously.

[184] [369] There is a certain difference between the attitude of the population

/282 cont./

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in the villages and the seaports. The Tongans of the village settlements, especially on the small islands, seem to be passive. They approve of the development, they have a certain pride in their admiration and respect for the competence and the mind of the whites, even though they remain self-assured. The "urbanized" Tongans living in the principal towns have somewhat more contact with Europeans and their world, and are more lively and flexible. They too take an affirmative attitude toward the development because they see its necessity and its usefulness, and they are always interested in learning from whites. Yet they do not necessarily believe in the unselfishness and sincerity of all Europeans, but often critical of them. Many value the whites merely as advisers and teachers who open up for Tonga the material and technical facilities of Europe and who can also develop education, hygiene and administration to such an extent that the standard of the small kingdom can be raised and it can assert itself in the world; they reject a leadership role of [186] Europeans. These natives often show a rather marked patriotism; they are proud of their own small kingdom and of /283/ the fact that their Archipelago is the only one in the Pacific that has remained an independent state. Some of them are anxious to increase the political freedom of their country.

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In general, therefore, it may be said of the Tongan attitude toward their development that scarcely anyone longs for the past, for the ancient Tongan way of life. Many realize the value of their own culture [186] and point to it with a certain pride, and some also try consciously to preserve it. But on the whole they willingly and happily affirm the progressive change of Tongan culture and only unconsciously impede it by certain conservative tendencies and a pronounced inclination towards equanimity.

/287 cont./

177 influences brought about a major change in the area of traffic. New
178 professions, the development of trades and the use of money are further evidences of change in the economic life of Tonga.

The religion of these natives--except for a few insignificant remnants--was obliterated and replaced by the Christian faith.

The art of the Tongans seems very much changed, for song, instrumental music and poetry have been strongly influenced by Europe, and the ancient Tongan dance has largely disappeared from public life. The present-day games of these natives have almost all been borrowed from whites.

Knowledge and with it the islanders' image of the world are today decisively determined by European school-learning.

177
178 In various areas of daily life the cultural change is uniform throughout the Archipelago; in others, however, there is a certain
184 difference between the seaports and the villages, as well as between the
369 larger islands (Tongatapu and Vav'u) and the smaller ones (especially of the Ha'apai group), where a more "indirect" Europeanization (through Tongans as intermediaries) has taken place.

In the urbanized harbor towns there are more European and European-style influenced houses. Some of the streets are paved and are used by motor cars. Here there are some business sectors (department stores) and offices with files, telephones and typewriters. The natives may visit cinemas and buy ice cream. There are some whites living in these districts.

Despite the still strong community feeling, the Tongans living in the seaports seem to have experienced a slight measure of individualization and alienation among themselves. Here one naturally sees more fully European dress (trousers) than on the smaller islands, and the natives have become more accustomed to European supplementary foods

/287 cont./

177 178 184 869 (including bread) and a third meal. These Tongans seem somewhat more efficient; they make use of the postal and telegraph service with a certain matter-of-factness, and in case of illness they are more apt to go to hospitals. Here also, thinking in terms of money has found more acceptance than in the villages.

Though the ancient Tongan manners and customs that have been retained seem to be taken somewhat more lightly in the urbanized seaports, it is noteworthy that the "Tongan wedding," for example, has been preserved here almost as it is on the small islands, and that the right to take what belongs to the mother's brother (tu'asina) is still largely practiced. In these towns, especially, people also still like to wear /288/ the vala and respectfully to don the ta'o-vala (3)

3. See pp. 67-71.

when they attend a fono (4)

4. Gathering to announce government reports.

or wish to visit a chief.

In these settlements, tapa is still made even in the center /of town/, near the main thoroughfare, and most of the Tongans living here still carry on their planting, some of them along with their professional work.

The natives of the urbanized settlements and the smallest islands of the Archipelago adhere equally to their Chrisitian faith.

In general it may be said about the differences in cultural change within the Archipelago that many changes have been greater in the seaports (and on the larger islands) than on the small islands of the group. But even in those "urbanized" settlements they are not so great that one could speak of a complete "break with the past." Despite the stronger Europeanization of the harbor towns, essential ancient Tongan ways of life have remained there. We might rather speak of a

/288 cont./

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"uniformity of cultural change with a certain margin of fluctuation" throughout the entire Archipelago.

Seen as a whole, the cultural change in Tonga has brought no collapse of the old way of life of the natives. It should rather be regarded as a steady development during which the previous order was modified and new values (along with the existing old ones) became the substance of life. The material and cultural loss caused by the change was replaced by something new--to the extent, at any rate, that for the modern Tongan men and women who were, after all, born into this development, the essential phases of which were long since completed, there was no noticeable gap. Rather, we see today a firmly established state and community in which almost everyone feels comfortable and secure and does not have any particular cares and privations; life for the majority of the people is even more worthwhile than it was in the past, while the nobility does not quarrel too much with its readjustment, the basis for which was already laid two generations ago.

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The necessary "adjustment change" resulting from the "change of circumstances" was all the easier for commoners because their traditional family and community life and their livelihood (from planting, domestic animal-raisng and fishing) scarcely changed in the villages, and because the change in religion was more an "exchange in a superior force that commanded respect," and because in many areas new and old attributes in a fortunate fusion. The nobility who, as a result of Christianization and democratization of the islands, lost considerable power, accepted what seemed unalterable, /289/ especially since, on the whole, it still enjoys a certain respect--at least formally--and also occupies the most important key positions in the government.

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The life of these natives shows no particular restlessness or tension, but rather a considerable balance of factors. The Tongans seem

S T 871 /298 cont./ schools of five missions) is less effective than the Tongan, and mass education has not as yet been particularly successful, especially since in West Samoa (with a majority of the population) there is no compulsory education and in all the villages of the Islands the existing schools are attended rather irregularly. Even though the so proud and conservative Samoans do not have the same ambition to become S T [181] educated that the Tongans seem to have, it is nevertheless noteworthy S [212] that today almost all Samoans can read and write. In comparison with Tonga, however, only very few get beyond the elementary school level.

S T 177 178 184 369 /299/ In Samoa, as in Tonga, there is a difference in the change that has taken place in the culture between the more remote villages and the settlements favorably situated with regard to transport facilities and the commercial centers. In these "urbanized" towns one often notices in an occasional outsider who come there a detachment from his "extended family" in addition to a slight alienation and a growing importance attached to money, and the way of life of some natives shows considerable change in clothing, food and dwelling. In the city of Apia some people, especially young natives, are at times disdainful of the ancient Samoan way of life and the customs of their fathers, and feel superior to their countrymen who come "from the most backward villages" for a visit.

However, at present, such manifestations can be observed only among a minority of Samoans and should be regarded as exceptions. Up S 177 178 to now the Samoan culture has shown itself to be at least as strong as the Tongan. It has remained sound and dominant, despite the variety of European influences. (23)

23. Even the large sums of money which came into the country as a result of the presence of American troops on the Islands and the possibility of easy acquisition during that

100: Koch--469 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Fijians OQ4

/311 cont./

37. Legislative Council, Fiji. Secretary for Fijian Affairs. Annual Report, 1948. Council Paper No. 27. p. 8.

The difference to be observed in Tonga in the culture change between the more remote villages, on the one hand, and the towns favorably located with respect to transport facilities, on the other, is, of course, to be noted to an increasing extent in the Fiji Colony. The rapid development of overseas contacts and the founding of industries influence the lives of those who dwell in or near important centers. In the urbanlike settlements, especially in the lowlands of Viti Levu, the culture of the Fijians is subject to the greatest influence, and the difficulty of "uniting the two worlds" (which here are actually four because of the Indians and Chinese living here, besides the Europeans) is greatest for the natives in these places. Here one also notes a beginning individualism among the natives; yet in general the Fijians who have developed an especially successful initiative show toward their own people /312/ neither greediness nor stinginess, characteristics which scarcely existed in their old native community. In the villages near these centers a certain unrest has arisen through the exodus of young people who could not resist the power of attraction of the urbanlike settlements.

Seen as a whole, there has been no breakdown in the old style of living on the Fiji Islands. After the restless times of the 19th century resulting from the intervention of Europeans, and after the alarming drop in population a notable, continuous positive development began which is not very different from that which took place in Tonga. In comparing the culture change in Tonga with the change in Fijian culture it is noteworthy that, despite the stronger and more powerful influence brought to bear on the latter by foreigners, so much essential age-old tradition in the social life and the means of

125 survey sample were examined within a 4-week period. Standards for physical measurements and hair sampling were observed in that each child was measured on the same anatomical site and hair samples were taken from the same scalp location[1] (note procedures in Appendix C). A Efforts were also made to insure the sample was a cross-section of Tongan population which involved no particular religious or economic group in excess.[2] Therefore, it was fully recognized from the onset of this research that in surveys of an entire population, as well as specific groups within the population, one should make every possible effort to gain results which are representative and unbiased. The sampling took into account specific cultural and occupational characteristics of the area and the population.

After the individual sample subject was selected, every effort was made to gain complete information for that subject. Of the total sample, a research sampling of 265 Tongan preschoolers were selected from rural and urban areas throughout Tonga. In the selection of each subject, care was taken that only one per family was included in the sample. Upon initial inspection, if the child was

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[121] [262] [1]The possibility of such dietary variations as mineral consumption between rural and urban children was recognized as a factor which could result in differences in the growth profile between the two groups. Research pertaining to such cause and effect was not undertaken within the scope of the present endeavor. However, one possibility for future research is seen in the role of zinc in relation to the large consumption of wheat bread in urban areas.

[795] [184] [145] [2]The most obvious case was that of Mormon (Latter Day Saints) families. Without exception, children in these households appeared better cared for in terms of physical development and general conditioning. This distinction was noted early in the sampling process and was compensated for.

A [See Category 125, p. 183-188--Analyst.]